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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

NO MORE FAMILY LIFE.

THIS is the awful pronouncement which greeted readers of the *Daily Distress* one morning in October. Said the Editor:—

We have proved from the writings of Socialist leaders that atheism is one of their principal creeds, and that the marriage ties are not considered to be of any importance. But our exposures have caused consternation at the Socialist headquarters, and every effort is being made to deny our charges in order to allay the fears of those who have succumbed to the blandishments of the smooth-tongued street-corner orators. Socialism cannot endure exposure. It flourishes in the dark.

Socialism flourishes in the dark, you see. Only a day or so previously a leading article in the same veracious journal impressed upon its intelligent clientele that "the greatest mistake we can make in dealing with the Socialists is to debate with them. It is just what they want." It is painfully evident that we Socialists don't know when we are well off. After all, why should we seek the light of debate when, so the *Express* says, we "flourish in the dark"? To us, our hundreds of meetings in the open air, in parks, at street corners, at factory gates, have savoured of extreme publicity, and the invariable presence of the police would appear to warrant the assumption. We have nurtured a phantom. On the authority of the *Express* we have been in Stygian blackness the whole time. Hence our flourishing condition. This, of course, is *Express* reasoning. If the editorial tongue were not so plainly visible within the editorial cheek, a plain man might be tempted to style it twaddle. Mr. Pearson further informs us that:

Under advanced Socialism every child is to belong to the "State." Parental responsibility in every shape is to be ended. Feeding, clothing, training, educating—the State is to do it all. One stands aghast, and wonders whether the result would be more disastrous to the parent than to the child,

but on page 4 of the same issue a Mr. Claude Lowther "dealing" with the "Canker of Socialism" says "of course we recognise that the child belongs to the community and that the health of the child is the well-being of the State." So it would appear that Socialism has stolen a march upon us and is here in all its hideous nakedness. And the mother don't seem to mind. Or shall we say that Mr. Lowther would be well advised if in future he compared notes with the Editor before rushing into type? There is a possibility of a glimmer of sense creeping in by accident whilst the present haphazard arrangement lasts. Don't risk it, Claude.

Education again, we always understood, was the particular concern of the State. But read this first:

BARRACK NURSERIES.

And what about character? What about individual care? What about family life and that affection which makes childhood's days so sweet in the remembering? Because many homes are unhappy; because many poor little children cry for food in the slums; because some parents are without love and kindness, are all children to be without parents and to have a barrack for a nursery and a soulless "State" for a mother's care?

THE HOME IS TO GO. FAMILY LIFE HAS TO GO. Let the little ones wake in the night and cry for their parents—Let the mother stretch out for the child.

It is not hers at all. It is the State's!

Socialism has no care for empty arms and wistful mothers. The child is the State's, and mothers must go desolate. The little shoes, the little baby clothes—the kind "State" will provide those, and they will be all of a pattern and all alike.

Under Socialism every child will be a workhouse child. If the mothers dressed them, one would be prettier than another—and that would not be Socialism.

Let me emphasise the fact that the article here quoted appeared in the *Daily Express*, Oct. 8th, not in *Punch* as perhaps might be imagined.

Only one thing is lacking to complete the harrowing picture. Why not prevail upon the talented artist who enlivened the last L.C.C. election with his beautiful and soulful conceptions to endeavour to depict the interior of a "barrack nursery." Nothing appeals to the masses like a picture, and one such of a very long room, tall and broad, filled with hundreds of squalling infants, each seated before a "soulless" half yard of india-rubber pipe, through which the State pumped nutriment, would carry conviction. I present the idea to the *Daily Express* for what it is worth.

But coming down to hard facts and above all, those of present-day life, how does this strike the Editor of the *Daily Distress* and those who think with him that human society has reached its highest possible expression in that of to-day, so completely does it meet the individual wants of its components? This is from the *Boston American*, July 28th:—

MINOR EMPLOYEES OF STEEL TRUST SOLD BODY AND SOUL.

Parents Are Compelled to Sign Release Deed Before Work is Secured.

Hundreds Execute It.

Worcester, July 27.—The American Steel and Wire Trust is buying children in Worcester for one dollar a head.

Several hundred have already been sold to slave in the three huge mills of the trust in this city, and the sale of hundreds of others will soon be consummated if the State authorities do not interpose.

Many parents have refused to sell their children into slavery, and it is expected that they will soon have to find employment elsewhere than in the trust mills for their boys and girls.

The Steel and Wire Trust is determined that it shall own its employees body and soul.

To secure absolute control of the children the trust recently demanded that their parents sign "A MINOR'S RELEASE."

Each parent who signs this receives one dollar, and for that dollar he or she waives forever all control over the child: all right to collect his or her pay and all legal rights, in the opinion of the trust's attorney, to collect damages should the child be killed or maimed in the mills.

Here is a copy of the "minor's release," by which the parent makes his child a slave for a mite of the trust's gold:

MINOR'S RELEASE.

Know all men by these presents, That, in consideration of the sum of One Dollar and other good and valuable considerations, to me in hand paid, I, of _____ have emancipated and do hereby incipate _____ of _____ my son, of and from any and all liability to render or account for his services to me, and all obligations to me of whatsoever kind or nature, and do hereby release and forever waive any and all right which I may have in and to his services, or any wages or

salary earned by him; and do hereby authorize any and all persons whomsoever to contract with my said son without any liability to me, and to pay him his wages, and to do any and all things and make any and all contracts, with said son, without any liability to me; and authorize the said son to appropriate and receive, for his own use and benefit, without any liability to me, his services, and pay and all proceeds or avails thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at _____ this _____ day of _____ 190...

Witness: _____ (Seal)

Comment is almost needless. The Socialist is simply charged with certain proposals: here is an actuality. What of family life? "Let the little ones wake in the night and cry for their parents—let the mother stretch out for her child."

It is not hers at all. It is the Trust's!

And what about character? What about individual care? What about family life and that affection which makes childhood's days so sweet in the remembering?

How awkward for the *Express* that we here can speak in the present tense. THE HOME HAS GONE. FAMILY LIFE AS WELL.

And the American Socialists have denounced it. And the American prototypes of the *Express* have denounced the Socialists.

We need not travel so far as Tariff-protected America for indications of the ineffable state of bliss, marital and otherwise, in which the working class exists. We are indebted to capitalist sources almost exclusively for our best and most illuminating arguments and statistics.

The census returns show about 43 millions of human beings as inhabiting the British Isles. Of these 38 millions take just over half the national yearly production of wealth, the other 5 millions taking the remainder. The average income of the larger division is less than £160 per head. Thirteen millions are perpetually on or below the poverty line, and nearly a million receive Poor Law relief. What a bed of roses! What possibilities for the formation of character and that affection which makes childhood's day's etc., *ad nauseum*. Beautiful language the *Express* people pour forth. "Because many homes are unhappy; because many poor little children cry for food in the slums; because some parents are without love and kindness; are all children to be without parents and to have a barrack for a nursery and a soulless "State" for a mother's care?"

I reply: Because a paltry, parasitic, useless, one-ninth of the population absorbs nearly 50 per cent. of the national income and own seven-eighths of the whole wealth of the country; because less than one-thousandth per cent. of the population owns more than 50 per cent. of the total area of land; because 5 millions of the lazy plunder 38 millions of the industrious; because of these and scores of similar facts, are 13 millions of wealth producers to be perpetually on the brink of starvation? Are nearly 90,000 human beings to die in workhouses, lunatic asylums and similar institutions annually? Are 120,000 workers, the only people who matter, to be robbed of life or limb every year, whilst creating wealth they never enjoy? Are nearly a million fellow-creatures to be so

reduced by privation that they are compelled to claim public assistance and become, despite the repressive measures adopted by "sweet charity," paupers, in the midst of colossal wealth?

A million married women are compelled to work for wages. What of home life? And childhood's days so sweet in the remembering? Nearly 140 in every 1,000 never have any childhood's days to remember, for they die before their first year of "life" is completed. And family life too! What of that? Yes, what of family life? The average age of the worker is 29 years. The lunacy figures have doubled during the last 40 years. The unemployed problem becomes ever more intense. The worker's wife and children have now to turn out on the labour market and help to keep a roof over their heads until the arrival of the undertaker—at the age of 29 or thereabouts.

"The home is to go" wails the *Express*. "Family life too" it sobs. Pass on! it makes one peevish.

And now what of the Socialist proposals. Of course volumes could be written and have been written upon the institutions of religion and marriage. But briefly, very briefly, the position occupied by the Socialist in viewing the institutions named is very simple and readily understood. It is this.

Before man can formulate a religion, or a social custom like marriage, it is fairly apparent that he must be living in a community, and that the nature of that community will depend largely upon the methods by which the material wants, primarily food, are supplied. For instance, where animal or vegetable food is difficult of access, there, as history shows, one can confidently expect to find cannibalism. The social customs of that community will be an exact reflex of the way they are compelled to get their living. Their god will be as partial to human flesh as they. Their frailties, passions and virtues will find a truthful mirror in their deity. This is so historically and logically true that the wonder is that any person is to be found who, having given a very moderate amount of study to the question, can for a moment doubt it. Take the ancient Norsemen: men of pillage, rapine and plunder; wild, restless, roving pirates, as fond of wine as they were of war. Their gods, Thor, Odin, etc., were glorified counterparts of themselves. Higher in the scale the Greeks, a people who had brought the arts to a marvellous pitch of perfection, personified the arts and graces, that is, they made their gods and goddesses after their own image, and then deified and worshipped them. With the decay of the Greek civilisation, their deities died of the same complaint. So that as regards religion the Socialist position should be fairly clear. Change the economic condition of a people and their god or gods obediently dance to the altered tune. A moment's reflection should make this abundantly clear. Even in the case of Christianity it is continually changing as the minds of its adherents change. "It is harder for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle" said Christianity's great expositor 2,000 years ago. But a system of society has arisen in which the rich capitalist is looked upon as the mainspring by which Society is enabled to move: a society in which the followers of the humble Nazarene become the possessors of enormous wealth. And—mark what happens. Dr. Akeds arise in scores to prove that Christ did not really mean it. Theologians go to extreme pains to prove that the eye of a needle was something entirely different to our domestic implement. The camel's task was really very easy; only a bit of a squeeze and he was through. Same with the rich man, and so on.

And now regarding the custom of marriage. There is something decidedly humorous in the spectacle of the introducers of the Divorce Courts reproaching anyone with sinister designs upon the "sacred contract." The severing of the marriage tie by means of divorce is a measure that surely no one will lay to the door of the Socialists. And who is it that fills the Divorce Court? The very people who are now accusing the Socialist of designs upon the purity and sanctity of home life. Who are the greatest patrons of the horrible social ulcer known as prostitution? The question is almost automatically answered. Regent Street and Piccadilly are not working-class quarters; they are not even re-

motedly "tainted" with the "canker of Socialism." Yet the bare names of these thoroughfares have become synonymous for the vice which flourishes, unashamed and practically unchecked, upon them. The average man (who is not a Socialist) will tell you that prostitution is a necessary evil, and that the unfortunates who are its victims should receive State recognition and be licensed, as on the Continent. The upholders of the present system cannot conceive of human society without it. "It always has been and always will be" sums up the whole of their philosophy.

The true Socialist position is that the present marriage contract is by no means the last word to be said upon the subject. History shows that as the economic basis of human society has changed, so the customs of that society have altered, including, necessarily, marriage. The present social system is based upon the ownership of private property, and the marriage contract is in essence a property contract. The single sentence from the Marriage Service, "with all my worldly goods I thee endow" is indicative of this, especially as the recipient of this coruscating shower immediately surrenders all control over it by promising to "love, honour and obey" the benevolent "bestower." The Married Women's Property Act legalises the holding of property by married women, but even this becomes an expedient by means of which the bankrupt can secure some of his "hard-earned" plunder against the inroads of his swindled creditors, provided he has sufficient foresight.

It should be clear, then, that present-day society is organised upon a basis of private property in the means whereby the wealth creators live and that necessarily the customs of Society will partake of the general structure. With the change in the basis, necessarily the superstructure must follow suit. Abolish a system where the mainspring of all effort is the glorification and aggrandisement of the individual at the expense of the community; where the ideal is tersely expressed as "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost," and substitute a community whose driving factor shall be collective effort for the mental and material well-being of all, and whose chief concern shall be the free and unfettered development of all its component units; abolish the one, we say, and substitute the other and the way is easy for a marriage based upon mutual esteem: upon Love in actuality and not as at present, merely as an accessory after the fact—the fact of the possession of a "decent berth" or a banking account.

One thing the *Express* and those of its kind appear to overlook is this. In any society where woman were the social equal of man, is it to be imagined for one moment that she would acquiesce in anything the *Express* portion of the population cared to suggest? No! capitalist morals, bourgeois ethics, would follow the *Express* into the oblivion of a hideous past. Under Socialism there will be no sex barrier. Elementary logic would appear to show that the individuals most interested, or rather more affected, by social changes, should at least be among the first to be consulted. It does not seem to have occurred to the *Express* that woman would have a voice in the ordering of her sex-relationship. Need her answer be anticipated? Think it over!

W.T.H.

MR. JAMES PARKER, M.P., AND THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

In our November issue we printed two articles, headed respectively, "A Travesty of Socialism" and "Labour Members and Child Slavery," in which the utterances of the Labour Member for Halifax were criticised. In the first he was accused of talking twaddle and calling it Socialism, thus proving that he was either ignorant or fraudulent. To that accusation he makes no reply. The second article dealt with a speech he had delivered at Burton-on-Trent on October 7th, and concluded as follows: "Thus Mr. Parker, having thrown over 'political independence' and made a compact with the Liberal Party to secure election, now shows himself prepared to throw over anything else that may endanger his seat. We wish the I.L.P. joy of

these 'political job hunters.'"

Mr. Parker has sent us a letter which is printed below:—

Abercromby.

1/12/07.

Dear Sir,—I have just seen a copy of *SOCIALIST STANDARD* for November. The words I used at Burton-on-Trent were the very opposite of those you quote. If you get the other paper (I forget the name) published in Burton-on-Trent, you will find that the words I used in reference to child labour were these: "Speaking for myself, I would never seek to hold any seat in Parliament if it were necessary for me to support half-time labour to hold it." If you care to look up my record in this matter you will find no man in the Socialist movement has spoken out more strongly against half-time employment of children. Not only is this true, but I think you will find if you get the paper who were represented at the meeting you refer to by a reporter and I think the paper you quote from had no reporter present, you will find that my speech went the "whole hog" for the proper feeding, training and education by the State.

Yours truly,

JAMES PARKER, M.P.

A copy of Mr. Parker's letter was submitted to the Editor of the *Burton Daily Mail*, and he has sent us the following communication:—

Horninglow Street,
Burton-on-Trent.
Dec. 12, 1907.

R. H. Kent, Esq., London.

Dear Sir,—I find on enquiry that Mr. Parker, was not properly reported in our issue of Oct. 8th. Our reporter was present, but he did not get Mr. Parker's reply to the question accurately. What I understand the hon. member did say was that "members of the I.L.P., as a Party, would take up the attitude of getting the age limit raised if they had the opportunity." I am sorry that our Reporter's carelessness has caused so much controversy.—Yours faithfully,

ARTHUR E. BROWN,
Editor & Manager.

We apologise to Mr. Parker and of course withdraw our criticism in so far as it was based upon the incorrect report sent to us. We have obtained the "other paper" but do not find the words Mr. Parker claims to have used. It reports that he said Socialists would like to get the State to look after their human needs. They wanted a doctor in the schools to deal with the ailments affecting the children, such as bad eyesight, defective hearing, and to see that all were properly nourished. He also advocated one good meal in school each day. To-day they spent a few million on education and about ten times as much on armaments, but when they became a wise nation and a Socialist nation the figures would be reversed.

We have taken these words from the *Burton Evening Gazette* and must express our inability to understand Mr. Parker's conception of a Socialism which would require a "few millions spent on armaments." The coming of Socialism will mean the triumph of the wealth-producers over their exploiters. As the Manifesto of the S.P.G.B. fully explains, "in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to be emancipated," and the emancipation of this class "will involve the abolition of all class distinctions and class privileges and free humanity from oppression of every kind." Whence, then, will arise the necessity to spend a few millions on armaments?

It will be noticed that Mr. Parker does not deny that he won his seat by making a compact with the Liberals. Of course he is not the only I.L.P. leader who has done so, particulars of several of these compacts being given in the S.P.G.B. Manifesto. With regard to his claim that he "went the 'whole hog' for the proper feeding, training and education by the State," if one who believes that children should be fed, and trained, and educated by the "State" is a "whole hogger" we are glad we are not "whole hoggers." The mother, for whom a State institution, however beneficent and well-equipped, can never be a substitute, is the proper person to feed and care for her children, and it is because we know that Socialism alone will make it possible for mothers to properly feed, and train, and educate their offspring that we are Revolutionists.

J.K.

SOCIALISM "EXPOSED."

[AN EXPOSURE OF SOCIALISM, by Max Hirsch. 48 pp., 2d.]

In contrast with most so-called exposures of Socialism this one is readable and even interesting. It consists, nevertheless, for the most part of rhetorical pyrotechnics and of perverted appeals in the sacred names of Liberty, Purity, Justice and the like, illustrating both the astuteness of Max Hirsch and the power that such ambiguous abstractions still wield over the sheep-like multitude.

The pamphlet (which has not been sent to us for review) consists of three addresses originally delivered by Max Hirsch in Australia. The "exposure," indeed, amounts principally to assertions by Hirsch that the ultimate outcome of Socialism

is deplorable in every direction. Industrially it means retrogression, enormous loss of productive power, and poverty for the whole of the people. Politically, it means absolute despotism on the one hand, and absolute slavery for the great majority on the other. Socially it means the loss of the monogynic family, sexual license as bad as in the declining days of Rome, and the loss of all the highest and purest joys men and women are capable of. Ethically, it means the loss of all the virtues that a thousand years of the struggle for freedom have developed among the nations of the world, and a return to the vices which distinguish slavery everywhere.

How familiar it all sounds. With the word and content of capitalism inserted in place of Socialism, the above might be the conclusions of a Socialist pamphleteer in scathing condemnation of the present social disorder. Let us apply it to the facts of to-day.

"Industrially, owing to the wasted labour force of the unemployed, the waste of competition and the competitive barriers to the complete and efficient organisation of production, the continuance of the present order means retrogression, enormous loss of productive power, and poverty for the overwhelming mass of the people. Politically it means the absolute despotism of the propertied exploiters and the absolute slavery of the whole of the wage workers. Socially it means the loss of family life by compelling husband, wife and children to sell themselves as wage slaves to provide subsistence, while low and insecure wages, which are insufficient to enable a man to keep a family and compel women to sell themselves upon the streets, engender inevitably sexual licence; while accumulated wealth joined with idleness and degeneracy at the other end of the social scale lead, as is known, to the practice of vices as bad as during the declining days of Rome. Ethically, capitalism means class antagonism, chaos and crime through the poverty and slavery of the mass compelling many to robbery and violence, and degrading them mentally and physically, while among the class that lives by exploitation there is inevitably inculcated all forms of swindling, poisonous adultery, robbery and murderous repression, leading in very truth to vices worse than any which distinguish other forms of slavery."

As applied to to-day Mr. Hirsch's description may undoubtedly be said to fill the bill. As applied to Socialism, however, not a single point is proven. Indeed, Max Hirsch has the audacity to offer as proofs of red tape and repression under Socialism, examples of class repression by capitalists in Colorado and the ridiculous red tape of some royal household!

It would appear from Mr. Hirsch's statements that Tom Mann declined to debate with him, but while we have at present no means of ascertaining the full facts of this, yet we cannot refrain from quoting and commending to the careful consideration of the British Constitution Association and the rest of our not over brave opponents the following observations of our author on the uses of debate:—

A mere lecture may appeal, not to reason, but merely to prejudice or sentiment. All the difficulties may be slurred over, all the opposing arguments put out of sight without the majority of the audience detecting the trick. But in a public debate, if both debaters are competent men, this is not possible. More or less of the true value of the arguments used, more or less of the weakness of the proposals made if they are weak, must come home to the audience. A man who believes in the truth of his teaching therefore, has no reason to avoid debate; the man who knows or sus-

pects that there are flaws in his teaching has every reason to avoid debate.

It is, even now, not too late for our opponents of the B.C.A. to "come on," but it is to be feared that they still let "I dare not" wait upon "I would," like the poor cat in the adage.

* * *

It is not necessary—nor indeed is there space—to deal with more than the essential position of Mr. Hirsch. His standpoint is entirely that of the free competition, free trade and anti State enterprise capitalist, and he endeavours to confuse Socialism with State capitalism and tilts against the latter. Even here, however, his arguments are palpably weak, as when he speaks of the enormous increase of officials and decrease of efficiency in State capitalism. In point of fact State enterprise in practically every case has been found to be more efficient and labour saving than private capitalism (and this is the reason for its adoption by the capitalist class) while the proportion of officials in the branch of industry taken over suffers in general no increase. Thus the nationalisation of the railways would decrease not only the number of wage-workers employed but also, through centralised management, the number of officials required. There would therefore result from State ownership an increase in the number of State officials but in reality a great decrease in the total officials; for the officials of private concerns are not less capitalist officials than the State bureaucracy. This, however, is no concern of ours, for it is not Socialism, nor is it our objective. Bureaucratic tyranny is the enemy and is but the reflex of class rule; our object requires the destruction of this tyranny which clips the political wings of Post Office employees, civil servants, and State railway workers, and the substitution of working-class control as the necessary prelude to the abolition of class domination through all becoming workers in the lighter and happier labour of the common weal.

Max Hirsch's statement that productivity would decrease under Socialism is at utter variance with the facts. If in the most efficient methods of modern production uniform wage labour is the basis of that efficiency—in spite of the fact that the incentives, so far from being favourable to productivity, are such as to make the worker feel that the more he produces the sooner will the market be glutted and he be thrown out of work to starve—does it not therefore become obvious that through Socialism productivity will increase enormously, not only by the absorption of the unemployed, the idle, the lackeys and the like and the use of the most efficient machinery, but also through the direct incentive given the producers, not as to-day to restrict output, but to increase it in every way so that more wealth and leisure shall accrue to those who produce, instead of more unemployment and poverty? So far, indeed, from the natural incentives to productivity being present to-day and to be abolished by Socialism, the contrary is true, and these incentives are non-existent to-day for the working class, and can only again become operative through Socialism.

Most of Mr. Hirsch's so-called arguments are belated Manchesterisms, which are given the lie direct by capitalist practice. It is too late in the day to dish up 18th century arguments that were directed against the possibility of joint stock companies, and to endeavour to apply them to State industry, when the question that is pressing ever more threateningly for solution is not the destruction of social production and a return to the middle ages, but whether the workers shall, to their increasing misery, continue as wage-slaves in production that is already social, carrying on production in company, trust, and State for useless idlers, or whether the social powers of production shall be wrested from the capitalists, to be controlled and used by and for all who produce. And the solution of that question in industrial democracy will end bureaucracy and enslavement and poverty, at the same time that the productive forces, released from the forms which impede their useful development, reach a height of efficiency and usefulness hitherto unattainable.

The blessed words of liberty, justice, and other fraudulent aliases of capitalist interests, constantly recur with our author as with the usual bourgeois politician. In the absence of

argument such "wind-jamming" fills the aching void and is the occasion of perverted and soul-stirring rhetoric which effectively prevents sound analysis in the mind that falls under its spell. As Lafargue has shown, how the content of liberty, justice, and the like varies with the class, group, or even individual using the words! How liberty of the capitalist to exploit is in contradiction with the liberty of the worker, unless it be to sell himself as a wage-slave, or starve! The facts of modern industrial life are to the capitalists, necessary, beneficial, rose coloured, but to the workers they become unnecessary, harmful, degrading, impoverishing and drear.

So the facts of modern life for the working class are the basis of Socialism, and Socialist logic is the logic of proletarian history. And thus it is that, as a London newspaper recently discovered, arguments which appear conclusive to a bourgeois mind, leave the worker who realises his position utterly unconvinced, nay, wondering even that such inane and childish statements could anywhere be accepted as argument. This is illustrated not alone by the above-mentioned "eternal" self-contradictory ideas but also by theories of economics. Thus in common with the usual "up-to-date" apologist of exploitation, Max Hirsch has a feeble tilt at the labour basis of value, and on this the capitalist attitude is easily understood.

When the rising bourgeoisie were directly concerned in the processes of production, when their personal directing activities were also involved, their political economy, from Sir William Petty to Ricardo, came to recognise labour to the full as the creator of value. As, however, with economic development the capitalists became less and less personally connected with the labour process, as they became increasingly mere absentee, coupon clippers, and ignorant of production, which came to be carried on entirely by hirelings, and as moreover by the culmination of classic economy by Marx the kernel of capitalist exploitation was laid bare, so it became necessary to find a theory of economics that did not lead with inevitable logic to Socialism. At the same time, by the capitalist becoming a consumer solely, so the consumer grew in importance in his eyes and the attributes of consumption in the form of "demand," "utility," etc.—the reflex of the value process—became its foundation from the inverted viewpoint of the parasite. Thus a school grew into prominence which no longer recognised value, as a result of the application of labour to useful ends, but held in effect that under the guise of "demand," "esteem," and "utility," the value of a commodity was the creation, not of the producer, but of the consumer!

To the workers, however, in daily contact with the material basis of life, such a theory must ever remain unreal and fantastic, and with them the fact of the worker as source of value must retain its fundamental importance until and unless a time comes when wealth is produced without labour, and when palaces, banquets and motor cars descend ready made from heaven.

Socialism, indeed, apart from its accidental manifestations, is irrefutable from the standpoint of the wage-worker, for the Socialist is in essence only the conscious expression of the economic and social necessities of the wealth producers, adding definite aim, organisation, effect and intensity to the demand born of modern oppression and contradictions. Hence arises both the confidence of the Socialist in the future and the world-wide and inevitable advance of the Socialist movement.

F.C.W.

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The Socialist Standard.

WED.,



JAN. 1, 1908.

The Festive Season.

The usual cant is now being uttered concerning the "festive season," and the conventional phrases are on most people's lips. To those with the wherewithal to purchase the good things of life it is possible to be merry and joyous, but to these Christmas is no exception to the rule. They can and do eat, drink and be merry, taking no thought of the morrow, even if it be that on the morrow they die. But although the working class may, for the time being, "forget their sorrow and remember their misery no more," their ever-present poverty and the constant dread of even harder times, makes a "joyous" Christmas impossible.

What is the position to-day? Says that wordy describer of evils for which he has no remedy, Mr. Geo. R. Sims:

No one has any money. The cry of an impoverished people rings through the land. The West End weeps and the City sits in sackcloth and ashes. All parties agree that there is "very little money about." One is bound to accept the statement when one hears it so plaintively put forward in every direction. Commercial and professional men, dukes and do-gooders, keepers, traders and toilers, all tell you the same thing, and yet—capitalists, please, Mr. Printer. AND YET

Luxury and Extravagance

leap to your eyes everywhere, and the shop windows this Christmas time are making as glorious a show of goods as ever delighted the eyes of a passing public in the palmy days of booming British trade and national well-being.

Magnificent hotels and gorgeous restaurants, such as the capital never possessed before, flourish and pay dividends; men who used to go to the City in a twopenny bus are now whirled thither in a thousand guinea motor-car.

And yet from all the industrial centres, not those of England alone, but of all parts of the world, come accounts of the distress among the working class. In London the starving condition of the school children has forced leading members of the exploiting class to issue an urgent appeal for funds, fearful lest the supply of efficient wage slaves may be impaired, or that this starvation, in the midst of plenty, if allowed to continue, may goad people into action that may threaten the supremacy of the master class. In the North of England special appeals have been issued for funds to help the unemployed and their starving dependents. As the *Newcastle Journal* of Dec. 10th said:

The cry for Relief of Distress is in evidence that the contrivances invented to prevent so many people falling into poverty and to ease the lot of such as might fall have been a dead failure—a most lamentable failure. For, as the means of relief have gone on increasing, the number demanding to be relieved goes on increasing in still greater proportion.

Our country abounds with orphan asylums, houses of refuge, training ships for outcasts, hospitals for every kind of disease, convalescent homes, almshouses, and charity organisations of one sort and another—each and all of which were designed to play their part in reducing the mass of poverty, and in elevating the condition of those dwelling on the borders of pauperism, in social and moral respects. But their failure to attain such end is dismal. Never was the mass of poverty in our country greater than it is to-day—never was the cry of the distressed louder than it is to-day. . . . The Distress Committee

in every town is proclaiming that the state of things is worse than it was before.

We agree with the writer that all these benevolent contrivances have failed lamentably "because they do not get near to the root of the evil—because they do not even aim at touching the root of the evil." And in endeavouring to earn his money as a capitalist hack he, as might be expected, charges the working class with improvidence, thriftlessness, and wastefulness! He accuses them of being reckless of future needs, and given to living from hand to mouth. As if the wage slaves of capitalism could do other than live from hand to mouth! He suggests that the distress in Sunderland is largely due to the workers' extravagance and self-indulgence when the day was long and work was plentiful. Other writers state that these Sunderland mechanics have been receiving £7 or £8 per week in wages, and they have spent it all as they received it. We do not believe these amounts have been paid in wages, but even if they have, and the receivers have spent all their takings each week, what has been the effect? They have found employment in other departments of industry which would not have been provided had they refrained from spending their wages. Tailors, shoemakers, producers and purveyors of food and drink, employees of transit companies, etc., have had work as the result of the "thriftlessness" of these Sunderland shipwrights. Had they "hoarded," had they put by for a rainy day, it would have been necessary long before this to make appeals to relieve the distress of unemployed workers who have been kept going by the "extravagance" of their fellows.

Under capitalism, it is in the interests of the working class that wealth should be destroyed as quickly as possible after it is produced, and the *Newcastle Journal's* claptrap no more suggests a solution of the problem than any of the "contrivances" it writes down.

In the "Empire Beyond the Seas" thousands of good workmen are workless and hungry. From Canada comes the news that every industry is overcrowded. In Toronto there are 10,000 out of work, 4,000 in Winnipeg, and similar numbers in other large centres. Even Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner, whilst not confirming (nor disputing) these figures, admits that "the general conditions of labour and business are not so brisk as at this time last year, but everything is reasonably satisfactory." "Reasonably satisfactory" means, of course, that the unemployed are quiet, that they are not making themselves a nuisance. Let it be remembered that these unemployed workmen in Canada are not of "the idle, loafing, profligate class": they are men who have been mainly selected for their physical fitness and mechanical skill, as only those who can pass a very severe test in these respects are allowed to join the parties of emigrants "assisted" by various capitalist agencies, open or disguised, to "start afresh." And although it is admitted that there is an acute unemployed problem in Canada, "General" Booth is advertising for 600 men and women to join a party going there, under Government auspices, on Feb. 20th!

From America, the "land of the free," the paradise that the Tariff Reformer points to, but (like the Christian and his paradise) is in no hurry to go to, we learn, on the authority of the *Daily Mail*, that

Distressing stories of a vain struggle for existence in America are told by crowds of sad-faced emigrants streaming from the steerage decks of every arriving trans-Atlantic liner. The vast majority, according to competent assurance I have received, are arriving only with money for the barest immediate necessities. I have interviewed a number of distracted wanderers—broad-shouldered, industrious-looking Galicians, Bohemians, Poles, and Italians—who, in broken English, picked up during brief sojourns in America, declared that they were willing to do any kind of work, they had not earned a dollar for three months.

(*Daily Mail's* Bremen Correspondent, Dec. 5)

These workers out of European countries left their homes (capitalism having broken them up long before the advent of Socialism) because conditions of livelihood were productive of poverty and unhappiness, and they are now leaving Protection-ridden America for the same reason.

Let us take another phase of the workers' existence.

Early on the morning of the 18th December, an explosion occurred at a mine belonging to

the Pittsburg (U.S.A.) Coal Company at Jacob's Creek, some eighteen miles from Connellsville. Two hundred and fifty miners lost their lives, and we are told that the women relatives of the men gathered around the pitmouth frenzied with grief. What a merry Christmas! What a prospect of a happy New Year for these women and children deprived of bread-winner by this sudden "act of God"!

This is the third great coal-mine explosion that has occurred in the United States in less than a fortnight. On December 6th between four and five hundred miners lost their lives at the Monongah Mine, and on the 16th another seventy met their doom in the Yolande Mine, Alabama. On the day of the Jacob's Creek explosion the Commission appointed by Mr. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, issued a pamphlet showing that 22,840 persons have lost their lives in coal-mine accidents in America in the last seventeen years. Half of these deaths were caused during the last six years. In 1906 alone 6,861 persons were involved in accidents, 2,061 of whom perished. In 1906 there were 1,116 lives lost in British mines. It is well that the accidents and diseases of occupations should be borne in mind when our opponents are telling us of the "reward" to which the capitalist is entitled because of the risks he takes. *He never risks his life for a paltry wage insufficient at the best of times to keep one decently.*

When one takes into consideration, then, the conditions of the working class all over the world; when one remembers that, no matter what political, fiscal, or religious systems are in vogue, all over the world the working class is poor and the master class is rich; when one knows that the poverty of the working class is due to their exploitation by the master class; that so long as capitalism endures that exploitation must continue, what a farce it is to talk to the wage slaves of "A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!" There is no festive season for them. There cannot be until capitalism is abolished. When the workers, organised as a class-conscious party, not only in opposition to those political factions which are avowedly capitalist, but also to those which, while professing to be anti-capitalist are yet pro-capitalist, by reason of their efforts at "reforming" this system and their support of capitalist candidates and parties, shall be preparing to take over the means of wealth production and thus end working-class exploitation, they will be able to indulge in good wishes and encouragement. When, however, their historic mission is fulfilled it will not be a case of wishing each other a good time once in 365 days, but life for all, young and old, will be a festive season all the time. To hasten that good day is the work which the Socialist Party of Great Britain has been doing and which it hopes to do even more vigorously in the year now before it.

ROMFORD DIVISION BRANCH.

PREVIOUS to the present season we were not permitted by the stamp-licking brigade to hold a quiet and orderly meeting in Ilford. All through last year we endeavoured to wear down the turbulent opposition which greeted us night after night. It was impossible to sell literature or take collections. The fight would have discouraged some, but did not have that effect upon us. We renewed the contest this season, and although the earlier meetings were somewhat lively we soon wore down that kind of opposition. We started the season with a heavy debt, but not only has this been paid, but a large quantity of literature has been purchased from Head Office and paid for. Sales and collections have been good and at the end of September quarter we were enabled to donate £3 to the Head Office. Outgrowing our Club Room we have taken a house at 27, York Road, Ilford, on a three years' agreement, on the ground floor of which lectures will be given. Several pounds have been spent in furnishing and any comrade or friend or opponent who cares to look us up will be welcomed. The Club is open every evening at 7.45.

J.

The Head Office of The Socialist Party of Great Britain is at 22, Great James Street, London, W.C.

CONTINUED FROM DECEMBER ISSUE.

THE PROLETARIAT

(The Working Class).

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for The Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

But the supply increases too rapidly for it to be possible to make a great deal out of education even if one sells with it his own personality. It cannot be prevented that masses of the educated are driven into the ranks of the proletariat.

It is as yet uncertain whether this development will lead to the educated joining the fighting proletariat en masse rather than individually, as until now, but one thing is certain—with the proletarianising of the educated the last chance of the proletariat to rise by his own efforts into a higher class has been frustrated.

It is out of question that the wage-worker can become a capitalist, at least in the ordinary course of things.

A prize in a lottery or a wealthy uncle abroad are not taken into account by sensible persons when considering the position of the working class. But under exceptionally favourable circumstances a better paid worker may here and there succeed in saving—owing to his more abstemious way of living—sufficient to commence a small concern as handicraftsman or to open a shop, or to send his son for a course of study in order to become one of the "better" class. It has always been ridiculous to point to such possibilities for the workers for improving their own position or that of their children. In the ordinary course of things a workman may be glad, if he is at all able to save, to put by so much in good times, as not to be quite destitute when he falls out of employment. But to-day it is more ridiculous than ever to attempt to console the workers with such prospects, for the economic development not only makes it less possible for the worker to save, it also makes it impossible even if he succeeds in earning sufficient to raise himself and his children above the proletarian existence. To commence working on his own account means for him to get from one misfortune into another, and to return as a rule to his previous misery, recognising that petty enterprise cannot be maintained, but only results in the loss of previous savings.

More difficult even than commencing an independent petty enterprise, almost hopeless indeed, to-day is the attempt of the proletarian to send his son to college. But supposing such an attempt has been successful, of what use is his education to the son of the proletarian who cannot turn to account his acquirements, who has no protection, especially now when hundreds of lawyers, engineers, chemists, and commercial graduates are walking about in search of employment?

Wherever the proletarian may turn, everywhere he discovers proletarian conditions of life and work. Proletarian conditions are increasingly forced upon Society; the masses of the population in all civilised countries have already sunk to the proletarian position. As far as the individual proletarian is concerned the last prospect has long vanished of rising by his own effort and on his own account out of the morass into which the present system of production has thrown him. He can only raise himself by raising the entire class to which he belongs.

[CONCLUSION.]

ASKED AND ANSWERED.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

QUESTION.

How would a candidate of the S.P.G.B. conduct himself if returned to a council chamber? would he work for higher wages for Council employees and better housing of the people, etc., and what course would he pursue while in a minority?—J. T. TYSON (Stoke-on-Trent).

ANSWER.

The answer to this question was given in essence by the election address upon which S.P.G.B. candidates ran at local elections in London. This election address, the first in this country to lay down the Socialist position on municipal elections, was also printed in the October, 1906 SOCIALIST STANDARD and should be referred to.

Broadly speaking, the attitude of a Socialist member of a municipal body only becomes doubtful when the object for which such a candidate stands, together with the essential fact of the class antagonism and the narrow limits of municipal action, are lost sight of, and in so far as the electors are not at one with their representative regarding these important facts. Hence at this stage how the representative is elected is of the greatest importance in determining his attitude.

It must, therefore, be clearly understood, 1st, that any reform worthy the name from a working class standpoint involves the conscious taking from the capitalist class of, at least, part of the proceeds and power of robbery, and thus even genuine reform is conditional upon working-class supremacy. (2nd) That to wield in the workers' interest even the limited and paltry powers allowed by the central government to the local bodies, it is first necessary to control the local bodies by a Socialist majority.

Consequently to promise immediate reforms that cannot be granted until the revolutionary step has been taken leads to confusion, disappointment and apathy, while it means a vote worthless for Socialism followed by desertion. But to insist upon the futility of reform, and the

primary necessity of capturing political power means a sound vote, a solid backing, and a sure and steady growth of the class conscious and revolutionary army.

That these facts are recognised elsewhere although in the rush for jobs they are not acted upon may be made clear by one or two quotations. In Guesde's new journal, "*Le Socialisme*," an editorial on "The Party and Municipal Elections," states:

"The freeing of Society by emancipated labour, which is by nature national and international, is necessarily out of the power of that organised powerlessness of which the municipality consists at present, dominated as this is at the same time by economic necessities and by the arbitrary politics of the bourgeois state and its agents, but if the government—the central power—having passed into the hands of the proletarian class and remaining therein, is the indispensable instrument of the social revolution, if the municipal ground cannot in any way be anything but a field of manoeuvres and training for the Socialist army, the duty of the class-conscious workers is none the less to dislodge the industrial, landed, and financial feudalism from the town halls, and, turning these against the enemy, to use these as so many bases of operations in our march forward."

In the "*Social Revolution*," Kautsky also states:—

"In the same way, municipal Socialism finds its limits in the existing order of State and Society, even where universal suffrage prevails in the communes. The commune is always tied down to the general economic and political conditions, and cannot extricate itself from them singly. Certainly, in municipalities in industrial districts the workers may get the administration into their own hands before they are strong enough to capture the political power in the State, and they are then in a position to eliminate from this administration at least the most objectionable features of hostility to labour, and to introduce reforms which cannot be expected from a bourgeois regime. But these municipalities soon find their limits, not simply in the power of the State, but also in their own economic helplessness. It is for the most part poor districts, almost exclusively inhabited by the proletariat, which are first won by the Social-Democrats. Whence can they obtain the means for carrying out their greater reforms? As a rule they are limited in the levying of rates by the laws of the State, and even where this is not the case they cannot go beyond a certain limit in the taxation of the rich and well-to-do, without driving these, the only inhabitants from whom anything is to be obtained, away."

In the face of these recognised and undeniable facts the long reform programmes of "palliatives" and "immediate demands" of so-called Socialist organisations can only be characterised as fraudulent. Upon all counts the first and essential step to secure genuine working-class amelioration is the control by the workers nationally and locally, and this must be made plain; and when the workers are the ruling class, lists of reforms suited to the continuance of capitalism become stupid, and entirely different revolutionary measures of transition become the order of the day. Thus reform programmes not only scatter and render mutually antagonistic the workers' efforts, but they obscure and prevent concentration upon the essential step.

Once the Socialist position is grasped, the rest becomes plain sailing. The Socialist candidate is only the advance guard of the revolutionary working-class army and his attitude must be consistent thereto. He will, of course, work to wrest from the master class in open struggle any possible present ameliorations, but he did not seek suffrages for this but for Socialism, whilst neither he nor his electors are under any illusions on this head, for he has made plain how little is to be hoped from the enemy while entrenched in power.

Whilst in a minority the only effective political weapon of the Socialist in the obtaining of concessions is the relentless opposition, criticism and exposure of capitalist rascality, educating and organising the workers for Socialism and so striking fear into the exploiters, and causing them to throw out sops in order to maintain their position.

It would be the educational duty of the Socialist members even while in a minority to also propose measures embodying what should be done on any particular question in the interests of the working class. True, since a minority is a minority, he will be voted down, and any measure passed will surely be one which supports and strengthens capitalist interests, whether as working-class soporific or an aid to greater exploitation. Nevertheless, the work will tell, and therefore the consistent opposition of the Socialists to capitalist parties must be kept perfectly plain. Indeed, as Marx has said, the master class acting in its own immediate interests cannot avoid at the same time helping to dig its own grave.

And when as the result of this education and organisation among the electors, and training in administration, the majority are Socialist on the council, then—and then only—can such very limited powers as the local bodies possess be used as far as can be done to help strikers, children, and the workers generally, not alone by increasing the pay of municipal employees and housing the people, but even more important in the use of the power, funds, and organisation of the municipality, as far as is locally possible, in helping to complete the task of the workers in the capture of the central powers for Socialism. Indeed, the sound capture of a municipality by the Socialist workers can hardly occur without—owing to the similarity of capitalist development elsewhere—many other localities being also more or less ripe. While the continued financial and legal conflicts between such municipalities and the agents of the capitalist Government on the L.G.B., etc. can only help to make clearer and more pressing the only solution of the antagonism, and to hasten the day, as they make ever plainer the necessity, of completing the capture of the governmental powers in order to use them against the recalcitrant exploiters, and, backed by the whole of the organised workers, to transform Society by a series of transitional acts from industrial despotism into industrial democracy.

W.

A LOOK ROUND.

ACCORDING to "Bradstreet's" there were 964 business failures in America in October, with assets 124 million dollars and liabilities 139 million dollars. In October, 1893, the failures were 1,753 with assets 36 million dollars and liabilities 55 million dollars. Thus in 1893 the average liabilities per failure were 31,375 dollars and in 1907 they were 144,200 dollars. But of the latter twenty failures account for 114 million dollars, leaving only 25 million dollars for the remaining 944.

The S.D.F., I.L.P., and the Labour Party were well represented in the signatures to the Memorial, relating to the employment of barmaids, submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer last month. They included Miss Margaret Bondfield, Rev. R. J. Campbell, A. H. Gill, M.P., A. Henderson, M.P., J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and D. J. Shackleton, M.P. The memorialists claim that from the advertisements in the trade papers it is evident that the great majority of barmaids are engaged on account of their attractiveness to men customers, whilst the record of the magistrates and other courts gives convincing statistical proof that the career of the disproportionate number of barmaids ends in drunkenness, immorality, misery and frequently suicide.

Now, if public houses are such demoralising and terrible places as these people would have us believe, why do not they take up a logical position and advocate their immediate suppression? And why do they suggest that the wives and daughters of publicans should be permitted to continue to work in "surroundings which carry with them special dangers and temptations"? Do they consider the publican has a right of private property in his wife and daughters so inviolable that he is to be permitted to employ them in a career that "ends in drunkenness, immorality, misery, and frequently suicide"?

But the memorialists would even permit barmaids now employed to continue in what they consider such vile surroundings provided they have a licence from the Government. They would "protect the young girls of the nation" but those who have already entered upon this horrible career are to be permitted to go down to their end "in drunkenness, immorality, misery, and frequently suicide" if they have taken out a licence!

The Government is to place it on record that public houses are places where no decent woman should work. The publican's wife and daughters are not to count. I suppose the worst surroundings are too good for them, according to the ideas of the memorialists. Licences are therefore to be granted to other men's wives and daughters, and no doubt the fortunate holder of such a badge of slavery will be regarded as one who has either proved herself able to withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, or is so low and depraved that it does not matter what happens to her.

No one denies that the barmaid's lot could be improved, particularly in regard to her hours of labour, but in many respects it is vastly superior to that of other women workers. As a rule, she gets plenty of food and good food, which is more than can be said of the girls employed in such highly respectable occupations as millinery and dressmaking, often working for nothing and usually for only a few shillings a week. If they live at home the financial effort required for clothing prevents them from being otherwise than semi-starved all the time, and many of them exist in a condition of chronic anaemia which in due course has its effect upon their offspring. If they "live in"—well, Miss Bondfield, who wishes to abolish the barmaids, being an official of the Shop Assistants Union, has time after time denounced the system. And it is said that there are large establishments in the shopping centres of London where the girls who live in

are allowed to stay out all night, provided they pay a fine of ten shillings in the morning. Such a system cannot be charged against the publicans. And as to the alleged immorality, it must be admitted that there is nothing drives women on the streets so much as inability to obtain food and clothing for themselves and their dependents. The barmaid, at any rate, is secured against this.

Again, the atmosphere of thousands of coffee shops is much more immoral than the bar of a public house is ever likely to be, and the girls employed have no protection. Customers may use vile language concerning the food (as it is called) supplied in these places, and this language the waitress has to listen to. A remonstrance on her part to her employer would probably result in her getting "the sack," as the competition is too keen, and the profits too small, particularly in the poorer districts, for the "guvner" to be able to afford to quarrel with his customers. But if a customer in a wicked public house uses vile language to a barmaid and the manager or proprietor overhears or it is reported to him, the culprit is either warned, or put out and sometimes forbidden the house altogether. And the conditions of the girls in these coffee shops, as to hours, wages, and food, are certainly much inferior to those of the majority of barmaids.

Of course the S.D.F. and the I.L.P., through their members who signed the memorial, are being made the tools of the most bigoted section of that nonconformist conscience which they have so often denounced. These pharisaical humbugs really wish to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors, but lack the courage to openly declare themselves.

According to the *Daily Chronicle's* Rome correspondent between 50,000 and 60,000 Neapolitans have formed a passive resistance movement, and for six months have refused to pay rent or quit their tenements. The Government are taking the usual course. Controlling, as they do, the armed forces of the nation, which armed forces they will continue to control so long as they are politically dominant, they are using those forces against the workers. In the early part of December ten thousand troops from various cities had been despatched to reinforce the Naples Garrison preparatory to evicting the working-class families concerned.

Once more "the impracticability of the Socialist schemes" has been demonstrated, this time by a Mr. Moreton Frewen. He says that the total accumulated capital in the country is estimated at £9,000,000,000, which invested at 3½ per cent. would bring in about 5d. a day per person. The total income from all sources Mr. Frewen estimates at £1,500,000,000 annually, equal to about 14s. per head per week. "Thus," says our oracle, "the Socialist ideal of happiness would result in every individual in the country being possessed of a revenue of 16s. 11d. per week." And Mr. Frewen adds that this would not be "a very prosperous state of affairs."

16s. 11d. per head per week, says Mr. Frewen, will be the income under Socialism. It is computed that the average family consists of five persons, so that each family would receive £4 4s. 7d. per week. But it is known that the working class have larger families than the well-to-do section of the population, and the amount would therefore be increased for working-class families. And this "would not be a very prosperous state of affairs!"

Well, if Socialism really meant dividing up what is known as the National Income, it would mean the trebling, at least, of the income of the mass of the working class. Chas. Booth has shown that 1,250,000 of the population of London are in receipt of a wage of one guinea or less per week per family, and in commenting on the Railway dispute the *Daily Telegraph* pointed out that, in the event of a strike, an enormous number of men would be willing to blackleg at £1 per week. "Twenty shillings a week is no luxurious wage we admit," said the *Daily Tele-*

graph, "but it is better, alas, than many thousands of workmen in both town and country can secure." So that the "prosperity" of the working class under capitalism is represented by one-sixth or less of what, according to Mr. Frewen, they would receive under Socialism. And this proves "the impracticability of the Socialist schemes!"

It is not surprising that opponents get the idea that Socialism merely means the equalisation of income or wages when those professing to be Socialists endeavour to popularise the same idea. Recently I heard a Mr. Dean, on the I.L.P. platform in East Ham, inform a questioner that "of course, it would be quite possible for anyone to save up his money under Socialism, if he preferred not to spend the wages paid to him each week by the State. But he would not be able to employ anyone else with the money so saved. He would be a capitalist, but unable to use his capital." And after delivering himself of this he read the titles of pamphlets which he advised the audience to buy and study, some of which explained that the wages system would be abolished with the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of Socialism.

This misconception of Socialism arises largely out of the advocacy of palliatives by both the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. So obscured is the issue, even to members of these bodies, by their talk of the "right to work," "better wages for the working class," "free maintenance for children" etc., that they appear unable to conceive of any system where the hooter shall not sound the time for commencing and leaving work, and where the people shall not be the wage-receiving slaves of the machine industry that they are to-day. They would merely "humanise" the conditions of employment.

J. KAY.

THE MOVEMENT IN MANCHESTER.

THE hard work put in by "The Two Revolutionaries" last winter in Cottonopolis and the visit paid by Comrades Kent and Humphrey in August bore fruit in the shape of the Manchester branch of the S.P.G.B., which branch, although only formed in October, has already made itself felt, and will prove a very prickly thorn in the side of the "reformers" and political job-hunters of the S.D.F. and I.L.P. brand as soon as the open-air propaganda season commences.

On October 20th Mr. J. T. McPherson, Labour member for Preston, who, with Messrs. Seddon and G. D. Kelley, recently had his expenses paid to Switzerland and back by those friends of Labour, the National Service League, spoke at a meeting of a local Ethical Society and eulogised the Labour Party, singling out Mr. Crooks, M.P., for special mention. In the course of the discussion our comrade Jim Brough pointed out that Crooks had broken the Constitution of the L.R.C. by sending a letter in support of Mr. Hamar Greenwood, then Liberal candidate (now M.P.) for York, Mr. G. H. Stuart being the L.R.C. candidate for the Division.

Mr. McPherson replied that Crooks had not proved false to the Labour Party's Constitution since signing it. Following upon this correspondence took place and the member for Preston promised on October 24th to obtain information which would enable him to justify his assertion. Up to the time of writing he has not done so. In connection with the same matter Comrade Brough wrote to Mr. Hamar Greenwood drawing his attention to the issue of the *Postmen's Gazette* of February 17th, 1906, stating that extracts from Mr. Crooks's letter in support of Mr. Greenwood were posted and issued as a handbill during the contest. Mr. Greenwood, who may of course be out of town, has not yet replied. Comrade W. L. Brown also wrote to Mr. G. H. Stuart, M.P., for information and this gentleman informed our comrade that Mr. Crooks did not deny writing the letter referred to, but he did deny that the construction placed upon it was the correct one!

On November 20th, Comrade J. W. Marsh represented the Party at a debate at the Co-operative Hall, Ashton Old Road, his opponent being Mr. Tom Swann, I.L.P. The subject was

"Does the I.L.P. deserve the support of the Working Class?" and Dr. Garrett of the S.D.F. presided. In his opening remarks the chairman said there was nothing to lose but much to gain by discussing this and similar matters in public. They had differences and these should be fought out before the public. Comrade Marsh opened the debate. He pointed out that the development of Society from feudal times had resulted in the political power being secured by the owners of the machinery of wealth production, which ownership enabled them to practically own the worker. The antagonism of interest between the possessing class and the wage earners demanded the formation of a working-class party based upon a clear recognition of the class position, and he showed how all other parties were useless to achieve any real good to the workers. By a Socialist party he meant one whose aim was the capture of the political power, for until that was done class domination could not be ended. A party not preaching Socialism all the time, not openly and avowedly organising for Socialism, was not doing the work of a Socialist Party. He gave many instances of confusing and pro-capitalist tactics of I.L.P. members, and having dealt with the futility of reform, closed by declaring that the answer to the question was in the negative. Mr. Swann, in his opening speech, denied that they had anything to do with the action taken by I.L.P. leaders, even if they had violated the constitution of the Party. For every backslider that Marsh could name, 99 could be mentioned who had been true to the Cause. He became irrelevant by referring to the fact that certain prominent members of the S.P.G.B. were expelled the S.D.F., and tried to make out a case for the I.L.P. by comparing the number of its weekly meetings to those held by the S.P.G.B. The I.L.P., he said, had more branches than the S.P.G.B. had individual members. It had spent £250,000 in propaganda since it was founded. Alluding to Marsh's attack on the advocacy of reforms, Mr. Swann quoted from a pamphlet on Free Maintenance to the effect that in times of strike the men would be encouraged by the knowledge that their children were being fed. He admitted that capitalism not only produced but demanded a reserve army of unemployed, but said the capitalist class must be compelled to find work for the unemployed. He described the policy of the S.P.G.B. as a dog in the manger one. Not only was it trying to prevent the I.L.P. doing good work but it was also trying to undo that already done. The S.P.G.B. were dreamers trying to disunite and leg down the workers. He claimed that the I.L.P. contributed more to that unity which was essential on the part of the workers than any other party and therefore deserved their support.

In his reply Comrade Marsh pointed out that the I.L.P. leaders who had violated the principles preached by the Party still had the support of the rank and file, and the I.L.P., like any other party, must be judged by the actions of its representatives. He pointed out that the master class could take away Free Maintenance as well as "concede" it, and the strike argument therefore fell through. Moreover, so long as they controlled, through Parliament, the Army and Navy, they could and would use these against workers on strike. He denied that Mr. Swann had dealt with the points, which was evidence of his inability to do so. Mr. Swann concluded by declaring that his view of the S.P.G.B. had been confirmed. He had always thought they were "a set of fanatical, sky-scraping, moonraking, rainbow chasers," and having delivered himself of much more to the same effect he sat down. The hall was crowded and a good sale of literature was effected.

The Manchester branch is thus fairly on its legs and the "political job hunters" had better look out for squalls. We have now enrolled a vigorous fighter in the person of Moses Baritz, late of the S.D.F., well known throughout Lancashire and the Potteries, and we have no doubt the branch will from time to time, be enabled to report favorably of its doings.

A.B.

[Since the above was written a further report has been received, from which we gather that for the first three weeks in December the branch disposed of 300 copies of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD and the S.P.G.B. Manifesto. Good propa-

ganda meetings have been held. On Sunday, December 8th, Baritz spoke at Stevenson Square in the afternoon, and at Tib Street in the evening. Here Councillor Sam Hague, of the I.L.P., opposed, and after Baritz had dealt with his opposition the audience bought 10 pamphlets in a few moments. At the meeting at Stevenson Square on the afternoon of December 15th two members of the S.D.F. opposed. They claimed to be revolutionists but believed in reforms. After the S.P.G.B. speaker had quoted the words of Mr. H. M. Hyndman concerning palliatives obscuring the issue and reform being impossible, these opponents repudiated Mr. Hyndman. One admitted that "there are a few fakirs and shakers in the S.D.F." The branch has challenged the local branches of the S.D.F. and I.L.P. to set debates and is awaiting replies.—E.D.]

WEST HULL ELECTION NOTES.

Mr. Jas. Holmes, the "Labour" candidate, did his best to let folks know he was not a Socialist. He had never disguised the fact, he said.

And yet he was supported, not only by the I.L.P., which openly advocates such a course of action, but also by the S.D.F., which claims to be "uncompromisingly revolutionary."

At the candidate's meeting at the Beverley Road Baths on November 23rd, the chair was taken by Dr. J. Nelson, S.D.F.

Mr. Holmes' election address was like any other Radical's. He believes that the national ownership of our railways, the taxing of unearned increment, the abolition of royalties on our mineral wealth, the re-assessment of the land tax, the freeing of the land from monopoly together with leasehold enfranchisement, are "the real remedies against poverty and unemployment."

"What Labour Leaders really think of the Liberal Party" was the frontispiece on a card issued by the Liberals. It contained the following five parts.

1. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., says: (*Labour Leader*, Jan. 1907.) I have a profound distrust of party newspapers eulogies of Ministers on coming men, but in common fairness I must say that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has earned and fully deserves all the praise which is being heaped upon him.

2. Mr. David Shackleton, M.P., says: (Oldham, Oct. 1st, 1907.) The Labour Party has had experience of two Governments and I must say that the atmosphere of the House of Commons has changed. To-day we find ourselves, with very rare exceptions, supporting the measures brought in by the Government which are in the right direction.

3. Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., says: (July, 1907.) In spite of the House of Lords there remains to the credit of the Government an output of legislation benefitting the condition of the millions they represent, greater than ever had been accomplished by any session of parliament.

4. If these things are true, why should Mr. Holmes split the Progressive vote? Don't be the catspaw of the Tory party.

5. Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., President of the Trade Union Congress, in his Presidential Address, on September 3rd, 1907, made allusion to the legislative output.

He said that the Act safeguarding Trade Union Funds and the Workmen's Compensation Act, were thorough and splendid pieces of constructive legislation. He thought the thanks of the workers were due to the Government for this valuable legislation.

As Mr. Holmes, in some of his literature, even dropped "Labour" and asked the electors to "Vote for Holmes, the real Progressive," Mr. Wilson's reference to the splitting of the Progressive vote was not out of place.

SNAP SHOTS.

SPEAKING at the Manchester Coal Exchange, the Rev. Conrad Noel said there were times when it would be perfectly right for Socialists to be Tariff Reformers. Socialism was an international movement and a tariff would be quite justifiable if a nation put up a barrier against the importation of sweated goods manufactured in another country.

An international movement! And yet the producers in one part of the world are to put up tariffs to protect themselves against the producers in another part. Try again, Mr. Noel.

"I ask them (the Labour Party) where would they have been but for free trade, education, Chinese labour, etc. Many of them were elected by Radical enthusiasm, Liberal votes and trade union funds."

Thus spake John Burns at Leeds on December 9th. Does he fear the Labour members will prove ungrateful to their Liberal allies?

"The problem of Socialism is what to do with the unemployed rich." That may be the problem from the Rev. Conrad Noel's point of view, but as under Socialism there will be neither unemployed nor rich, all being employed and well-to-do, it is no problem for us.

One more of Mr. Noel: "I think that possibly spending my time trying to urge stupid people to reorganise Society on a just foundation is productive work; at any rate it is the very bedrock of the work of a priest of the Church of England."

The stupidity and cupidity of people are the parson's opportunity, of which he takes full advantage.

Politicians here, writes the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, are greatly interested in the prospect held out by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald of the union between the two Labour parties in Parliament. But not much alarm has been caused by the announcement.

Why should there be any alarm? One Labour party will be quite as harmless to the master class and quite as useless to the working class as two or two hundred.

As to the Labour Party, they had every reason to be proud of those who had been sent to Parliament. They had done their work loyally and fairly, and he did not regard the Labour members as by any means the most dangerous section in the House of Commons. CORNEL KENYON-STANLEY, M.P., at Liverpool, Sept. 24th, 1907.

Mr. W. Crooks, M.P., (who has signed the L.R.C. declaration), was present last month at a dinner at the National Liberal Club to mark the revival of "Progressive" activity in London affairs. Other Liberals present included Lord Carrington, Dr. Macnamara, etc.

Messrs. T. Glover and W. T. Wilson, both L.R.C. M.P.s, supported the National Liberal Federation at a meeting held on December 14th at the Memorial Hall, Manchester, to explain the provisions of the Small Holdings Act.

J.B.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST. JAN., 1908.

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 T. A. Jackson	J. McManus	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman
Canning Town, Beckton Rd.	11.30 F. E. Dawkins	R. H. Kent	J. Kent	W. Gifford
Finchbury Park	2.30 A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson
Jolly Butchers' Hill	11.30 R. H. Kent	A. Pearson	J. Crump	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 J. Crump	J. Crump	R. H. Kent	J. Crump
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. C. Watts	W. A. Cole	J. Kent	J. Kent
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. McManus	T. W. Allen	W. Gifford	F. C. Watts
"	7.30 T. A. Jackson	T. A. Jackson	J. McManus	T. A. Jackson
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	P. Dumenil	A. Barker	P. Dumenil
"	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins
"	"	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen

CORRESPONDENCE.**S.D.F. TACTICS IN LANCASHIRE.**

Comrade, -The branches of the S.D.F. in the Rossendale Valley have been sold by the Executive Council of that body.

These branches: Rawtenstall, Crawshaw-booth, Bacup, Haslingden and Waterfoot, having been assured of sufficient money to bring out a Parliamentary candidate, adopted J. F. Green, and his candidature was sanctioned at the last Annual Conference of the S.D.F. Suddenly, and without consulting the Rossendale branches, it was announced that J. F. Green had been adopted as the candidate for South Bristol. The branches thereupon wrote to J. F. Green, who did not reply, and also to the Executive Committee. The latter's reply was quite up to the "revolutionary" standard of S.D.F. action during recent years. They regretted they could not contest Rossendale because of the expense (the branches say they have half the amount ready) and because "they do not think it wise to put up a candidate against Mr. 'Lulu' Harcourt, as he is about the only member of the present Liberal Government who has added prestige to his name."

What has caused this change of front on the part of the S.D.F. Executive? It cannot be altogether a matter of funds, because, as stated above, the branches have promises of half the amount and, moreover, at the quarterly meeting of the Executive held on October 20th, a deputation from the Leigh branch was received and asked for a candidate to be put forward to contest the Leigh Division. *This request was complied with.* Is it that the S.D.F. Executive has come to a secret understanding with the Liberals? During the Municipal elections in Rossendale local Liberals stated that J. F. Green would not go to the poll, and that the S.D.F. were only "kidding." Did they know more than the members of the S.D.F.? I believe that Messrs. H. M. Hyndman, J. F. Green, and other prominent members of the S.D.F. are also members of the National Liberal Club. Has there been a bargain? and if so, what has been bought and what has been sold? When J. F. Green was withdrawn from Rossendale, and announced for South Bristol prominent local Liberals said, "The S.D.F. will run no candidate for Rossendale." What did they know?

Yours fraternally,
MOSES BARITZ.

Manchester, Dec. 16th, 1907.

[Other correspondence held over.]

SUNDAY EVENINGS AT ILFORD.

S.P.G.B. CLUB, 27, YORK ROAD
(back of Ilford Railway Station.)

Jan. 5th—J. KENT:

"What is the S.P.G.B.?"

"12th—F. E. DAWKINS:

"The Anti-Socialist Campaign."

"19th—J. KENT:

"The S.P.G.B. and other Parties."

"26th—F. E. DAWKINS:

"The Fraud of Municipal 'Socialism.'"

Commence at 8.30. Questions, Discussion.
Opponents invited.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 8, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—J. McManus, Sec., 18, Undine St., Tooting, S.W.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.

ISLINGTON.—Branch meets Fri. at 8.30 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway. Communications to the Sec.

MANCHESTER.—Jim Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance Street, Hulme, Manchester.

PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Wednesday, 8.30 p.m., at Harley's Coffee Tavern (foot of Lock Bridge), Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Wed. at 8.30

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Mondays at 8 at Club.

TOOTING.—Communications to the Secretary, 86, Mellison Road, Tooting, where branch meets every Wednesday, at 8.30 p.m.

TOTTENHAM.—T. W. Lobb, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd. Discussion Class, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

WATFORD.—T. Wilkins, Sec., 4, Marlborough Rd., Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, followed at 8.30 by discussion, at 447, Katherine Road, Forest Gate.

WOOD GREEN.—H. Crump, Secretary, 39, Hermitage Road, Harringay, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

**ART, LABOUR
and
SOCIALISM.**

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

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SUNDAY EVENINGS

AT

Battersea Branch

(LABURNUM HOUSE, 134, HIGH STREET),

Jan. 5th—SOCIAL AND DANCE.

"12th—Debate on "Anarchism" between J. Fitzgerald (S.P.G.B.) and W. Underwood (Anarchist).

"19th—RE-UNION OF MEMBERS.

"26th—H. J. NEUMANN:

"Socialists and Would-Be Socialists."

Commence at 7.30 p.m. Questions, Discussion.
Opponents warmly welcomed.

**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles.**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interests of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch/Sec.

The
Official Organ
of
The
Socialist Party
of
Great Britain.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

No. 42. VOL. 4.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

LEGALITY AND REVOLUTION By JULES GUESDE.

BECAUSE, with the International, we shout warnings of pitfalls to the workers of France, whom it is sought to divert from political action under pretexts of the general strike and other operations of the holy ghost of Anarchism, some of the bourgeois press conclude that we have more and more the physiognomy of a parliamentary party. According to them we have renounced revolutionary procedure.

But then—you will think—there must be rejoicing among the conservative genus; surely the fatted calf already turns on the spit for the return of the collectivist sheep to the fold of legality.

Hasten to correct yourselves. Our brave quill-drivers start from what they call our rally or conversion to parliamentarism to denounce us with greater vehemence, and to vanquish us under the redoubled fire of their anathemas.

What, then, is this mystery? And how explain such manifestly contradictory language? Quite simply by this—which is not at all mysterious—that our adversaries do not believe a word of what they tell their readers. They know that far from turning the back to the revolution we maintain and impel the army of the workers in the revolutionary road, when, instead of allowing it to engage itself in the blind alley of a systematized strike, we show it the political power—the state—to be conquered.

This conquest is, indeed, an indispensable condition of the social revolution, in other words, of the transformation of capitalist property into social property. It is only after and by the political expropriation of the capitalist class that its economic expropriation can be achieved, as is recognised by the common program of Socialists the world over.

In order to restore the means of wealth production to the producers, there must be a proletarian government and making law. It remains now to be seen how from being as now a governed class, the workers can and will become the governing class. The ballot, which has already installed us in numerous *Hotels de Ville* and which has put an important minority into the *Palais Bourbon* is the first means. But will it be the sole?

No more than we believed this yesterday do we believe it to-day. But since when, because it will not be all, must legal action be therefore nothing? Far from excluding each other, electoral action and revolutionary action complete each other, and have always completed each other in our country where—for all parties—the victorious insurrection has been but the consequence, the crowning of the ballot.

The antagonism that it is sought to establish—useless to enquire why—between the suffrage which commences and the stroke of force which terminates, has never existed except in the holiest of phrases. History, all history, is there to demonstrate that the *deviations from legality* have always and necessarily been preceded by the usages and employment of that legality as long as it served as a defensive—and offensive—arm to the new idea, to the new interests in their recruitment, and while the revolutionary situation had not yet been produced.

It was legally and electorally that Orleansism

prepared its advent to power. That, however, did not prevent it finally coming to musket shots in a three days' battle. The "glorious" three days immortalised by the July column.

It was legally, electorally, that Bonapartism installed itself at the Elysée. But this did not prevent it from employing force—and what force! The rifle killing Baudin, and the cannon shattering the Boulevard Montmartre—in order to move into the Tuilleries as the third and last Empire.

The Republic was no exception to this rule. Twice (under the July monarchy and under the Empire) it legally and electorally constituted its army and partly gained the country. But this again did not prevent the Republic, in order to become the 1907 government presided over by M. Fallières, from having to pass through a violent accouchement by means of the *forceps* of street battles.

Well! Socialism to-day is legalist, electoralist, by the same title as all other political parties which have preceded it, and which are at present coalesced against it with what remains of their virility. We do not pretend to innovate, we content ourselves with the means of struggle and victory which have served others and of which we will serve ourselves in our turn. If anything is particularly idiotic it is the divergence that has been made between the *means*, divided into legal and illegal, into pacific and violent, in order to admit the one and exclude the other.

There is not, and there never will be, other than a single category of means, determined by circumstances: those which conduct to end pursued. And these means are always revolutionary when there is question of a revolution to be accomplished.

The vote, however legal it may be, is revolutionary when on the basis of class candidatures it organises France of labour against France of capital. Parliamentary action, however pacific it may be, is revolutionary when from the height of the tribune of the *Chambre* it beats the call to the discontented of the workshop, field and counter; and when it drives capitalist society to bay in the refusal or powerlessness of the latter to give the workers satisfaction.

Anti-revolutionary, reactionary in the highest degree, would the riot on the other hand be, in spite of its character of illegality and violence, because by furnishing the popular blood-letting that moribund capitalism needs for survival, the riot would put back the hour of deliverance. Not less anti-revolutionary, not less reactionary—and for the same reason—is all attempt at general strike that is condemned, through working-class and peasant divisions, to the most disastrous and abortive results.

The duty of the Socialist Party is to avoid as a snare, as a machination of the enemy or to the profit of the enemy, all that which in spite of its scarlet and explosive character would mislead and uselessly exhaust our forces of the first line; and to use parliament, as we use the press and the meetings, in order to complete the proletarian education and organisation, and to bring to a conclusion the revolution that is prepared by this end of a social order.

Translated from *Le Socialisme* by F.C.W.

Great minds do, indeed, react on the Society which has made them what they are; but they only pay with interest what they have received.

MACAULAY.

GO WEST—AND STARVE!

LATEST information published by the Emigrants' Information Office, 31, Broadway, Westminster, will not make satisfactory reading to those who thought of finding employment in our colonies during the next few months at least.

It is pointed out that a new regulation provides that all emigrants landing in Canada until February 15th, 1908, must possess 50 dols. at the time of landing, and all arriving between February 15th and April 1st, 1908, must possess 25 dols. They must in addition in every case have money for their inland railway fares, unless they can satisfy the emigration officers at the time of landing that they are going to already assured employment immediately on arrival or will be cared for by friends.

The demand for labour is over for the season. In parts of the eastern provinces the supply of labour is now more than sufficient, owing to the thousands of persons who emigrated to Canada last summer from Great Britain and the Continent, and to the recent arrival of large numbers of out-of-work mechanics and labourers from the United States in search of employment. No one, therefore, should go to Canada in search of work during the winter. Persons wishing to go there should wait till April, but even then they should not start—especially those with young families—unless they go to take up engagements, or have enough money to live on till they find employment.

In New South Wales there is a demand for hard ground miners, but not in the other States. In no part of Australia is there any pressing demand for mechanics, unless they are specially skilled; the best chances are for carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and plasterers. Clerks, shop assistants, warehousemen, and professional persons are advised not to go to Australia, unless they have situations awaiting them. The cost of living has somewhat increased of late throughout Australia.

The Dominion of New Zealand grants reduced passages to approved farmers, agricultural labourers, shepherds, woodcutters, and men able to milk cows and manage live stock, who possess £25, and to female servants who will have £2 on landing. There is an excellent demand for all these classes. The local supply of mechanics is about equal to the demand, but skilled men would not have much difficulty in procuring work if they could keep themselves while searching for it. There is a demand for female machinists and workers in the boot and clothing factories.

South Africa should be avoided by emigrants at the present time. In Cape Colony the supply of labour largely exceeds the demand, and mechanics of practically every trade experience extreme difficulty in obtaining employment. There is a steady diminution in the number of men employed in the building trades, and clerical work is quite unobtainable. All mechanics and others, therefore, are warned against going there now, unless they go out to situations engaged for them, or have means of their own sufficient to keep them for some months. The town council of Capetown has issued a warning to this effect, and in other parts of the colony, as Kimberley, East London, and Port Elizabeth, there is a number of cases of distress owing to

the scarcity of work.

In Natal the supply of white labour considerably exceeds the demand. Many skilled married mechanics, such as masons, bricklayers, carpenters, painters, &c., and a few unskilled labourers, are being given work by the Pietermaritzburg Town Council at 4s. a day, which is the usual wages of coloured labourers, whose places they take.

No one would go to the Transvaal now in search of work. In view of the depressed state of the labour market there is only a very remote possibility of employment being obtainable, and, as the cost of subsistence is high, those having small means would speedily descend to a state of destitution. Over 500 white men are now being employed as an experiment on the drainage works at Johannesburg, earning 5s. to 6s., and in some cases 10s., a day. A similar experiment is being made on railways, and white men are being found to work at £5 per month as assistants to gangers, platelayers, &c.

Large numbers of men, especially carpenters, masons, bricklayers, and plasterers, have left the Transvaal through inability to obtain work there. The dispute in the printing trade has been compromised by the reduction of wages to £5 10s. a week in place of £5 15s. There is no demand whatever for the "handyman," nor for shop assistants, and the number of clerks is excessive. There is a limited demand for female servants, the demand being mainly for house-parlourmaids, cooks, and cook-girls.

Some assistance is given to female emigrants to the Orange River Colony. There is no demand whatever for anyone else, and many persons are out of work. Labouring work is done by Kafirs. Miners and others should not go to Rhodesia at the present time, unless they have work guaranteed them.

WHAT ABOUT WILL THORNE, M.P.?

In his "Essays in Socialism" (Grant Richards, sixpence) E. Belfort Bax, of the Social Democratic Federation, says, under the heading "Factitious Unity":

It is alleged by practical politicians, so called, as a reason for toleration or compromise that a party cannot afford to lose an able man or man merely because they happen to be shaky on some vital point of principle. To this it may be replied that the ability of doubtful members cuts both ways. It may be of more danger to party principles when inside the party organisation than it is of advantage to the enemy when working against it outside. A party having any regard for its principles should surely look to it that its able men—those, therefore, most powerful for leading—should be straight, even more than the ordinary rank and file—and hence, if they go wrong, should be the more inexorably expelled. A party that is worth its salt can always afford to lose a man or two without collapsing, but it cannot always afford to have a powerful leader inside incessantly pulling the wrong way. Here, again, we ask, is the object of the party to hold together solely for the sake of office, emoluments, or party tranquillity, or for the sake of its avowed aims?

A SCIENTIST ON THE FAMILY.

WHEN the fact is accepted that the family has passed through four successive forms, and is now in a fifth, the question at once arises whether this form can be permanent in the future. The only answer that can be given is, that it must advance as society advances, and change as society changes, even as it has done in the past. It is the creature of the social system, and will reflect its culture. As the monogamian family has improved since the commencement of civilization, and very sensibly in modern times, it is at least supposable that it is capable of still further improvement until the equality of the sexes is attained. Should the monogamian family in the distant future fail to answer the requirements of society, assuming the continuous progress of civilization, it is impossible to predict the nature of its successor.

MORRIS. "Ancient Society."

A LOOK ROUND.

Mr. W. H. Broughton, a Tariff Reform Lecturer, was publicly challenged by a member of the Social Democratic Federation on December 1st to debate with Mr. Herbert Burrows, S.D.F. Mr. Burrows, however, declined to debate as he has "much more important work to do than of debating with every Tom, Dick and Harry who gets up at the corner of the street," etc., etc.

At present Mr. Burrows' "important work" is to raise a memorial to the late editor of *Reynold's Newspaper*, who assisted to side-track the working class by founding the National Democratic League!

Lecturing at Swadlincote on January 7th the Rev. Conrad Noel said that the ideal of the Church Socialist League was an industry in which there would be no drones and no slaves, where the people would have their liberties and be paid an adequate wage.

Mr. J. J. Kermode, M.I. Mech. E., states that if the Lusitania were fitted for burning oil fuel she would require only 27 men in the stoke-holds, as compared with the 312 necessary with coal. She would be able to carry 4,000 tons more cargo and at least 250 additional passengers.

And the displaced stokers? Oh, they don't count, of course, under capitalism.

Reuter's Correspondent at Johannesburg telegraphed on January 4th that Messrs. Eckstein are installing 200-Gordon drills. Twenty-five, worked by four whites and 25 natives, were to be started at the Crown Deep Mine in a few days. A native working a Gordon drill in five hours achieved results equal to the average day's work of 15 coolies or natives. The success of the drills will have a far-reaching result on the labour problem.

West Ham's poverty is, perhaps, mainly due to causes over which the public bodies have had little control, admits the *Daily Telegraph* in its review of the book issued by Messrs. Dent by Mr. E. G. Howarth and Miss Mona Wilson.

According to this volume, West Ham's population in 1851 was only 18,817, to-day it is over 300,000. This population is, to an extent which is quite without parallel elsewhere, composed of more or less casual labourers and their families. Nearly all its industries are run on unskilled labour, or skilled labour which boys can easily acquire, and the consequence is that the percentage of hands under twenty-one years of age is very large. When these boys grow up and ask for men's wages they are turned away, and a new generation of boys is taken on. All this tends to swell the number of casuals.

In almost every casual labourer's home the woman has at some time or other to earn money and become the breadwinner; in fact, she is often more continuously employed than her husband. But such work as she can get is usually shockingly underpaid, and involves cruelly long hours; and the people who have it to give take advantage of the crowds of hunger-driven applicants and beat down the price to starvation point. Instances of this are given in the volume.

Rents, we are told, are about the same as in 1888, but rates have almost doubled. It is the lower rents that have risen most, because the poorest people are forced to compete against one another for the cheapest houses, and up goes the price to a height that is positively infamous!

The authors, of course, have no remedy. It is only the Socialists who have. End the competitive system, abolish private ownership in the means of production and distribution of wealth. Revolution and Revolution alone will suffice.

The report of the first year's working of "General" Both's Anti-Suicide Bureau must have been unpleasant reading to the teetotal fanatics who trace suicide and everything else to alcohol. Out of the 1,125 cases dealt with only 121 were due to "drink, drugs, and disease," whilst 609 had their origin in "financial embarrassment or hopeless poverty," 236 were attributed to "accidents, sickness, and other misfortunes," 105 to "melancholia, proceeding from loneliness and other causes," and 54 to "crimes such as embezzlement, forgery and the like."

Under the auspices of the Burton I.L.P. Mr. O. A. McBrine declared at the Morningglow Schools on January 8th that the General Post Office and the Corporation Tramways are examples of Socialism as far as it can be carried out at the present time. Perhaps Mr. McBrine will read the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B. on the last page of this paper, and then explain wherein either of the capitalist concerns he referred to fulfil any of the conditions necessary to Socialism.

"Why Manufacturers move to Letchworth (Garden City)" is the title of a four page circular issued by the Garden City Company. In the circular appears the following illuminative paragraph, which substantiates the view so often expressed in these pages:

EXTRACT FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF A PRINTING BUSINESS.

"The change to larger and altogether commodious premises has been of immense benefit to all concerned. The brighter outlook and keener air of Letchworth (Garden City) has a marked effect upon the health, spirits, and enthusiasm of the workers, and the business of the Society undoubtedly feels the effect in the increased output and improved work. Indeed, the results of the four months working since the removal, give us cause to anticipate the future with every confidence of far more success than we have hitherto experienced."

"The relations now existing between the railway companies and the Board of Trade are of a more friendly character than they have ever been before. This is a striking commentary on the oft repeated wild assertion that the Government is not friendly to capital. It would be difficult to find a President of the Board of Trade who had done more for the protection of capital. The railway companies did a very good thing for themselves in accepting the proposals made by Mr. Lloyd George at the time of the labour dispute."—*Daily Chronicle*.

If the companies "did a very good thing for themselves" where, it may be asked, do the railwaymen come in?

"What is it that makes men cry out against society and turn to Socialism for help? Undoubtedly, poverty, with all the misery it entails, is the chief reason. Look at the conditions in which many poor of our great cities live: insanitary houses, more dilapidated and filthy than pigsties, huddled together in gloomy streets on which the sun shines only to make horrors more apparent. There, scourged by terrible diseases, they pass the term of their existence. If they are fortunate they can earn just enough to buy food, and a few moments of oblivion at the gin shop at the corner. But they are never sure even of the common necessities of life; more than ten millions—a quarter of our population—are always, through the insecurity of employment, on the verge of starvation. How, then, can it be expected that men and women living under these conditions, without a hope in the world, will be satisfied with our system of society."—*Standard*.

Speaking at the National Liberal Club on January 28th of the present year, Mr. Winston Churchill referred to the Trade Unions of Great Britain as great social bulwarks, and as an indispensable counterpoise and a natural corrective to a highly competitive system.

J. KAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.L.P. COMPACTS IN MANCHESTER.

Comrade.—On November 20th Mr. T. Swann of the I.L.P. asserted in debate with J. Marsh (S.P.G.B.), that a member of the S.P.G.B. had stated that the I.L.P. had been parties to a compromise with the Liberals during the General Election; but this statement was a deliberate lie, as no such compact had taken place. If, he added, the S.P.G.B. were proved locally to have made a statement that could not be verified, of what value were the statements made in their Manifesto and elsewhere?

Now for the facts upon which the charge was made. On the 28th July, 1907, Swann was announced to debate with Kitson, on "Socialism versus Anarchism." Wishing to know something more of the Anarchist position, I went to the meeting place, but found Swann holding forth, Kitson having failed to turn up.

At the conclusion of Swann's address questions were asked for. After I spoke of the compromise referred to above, Swann denied that it had appeared in the *Clarion*, and, as I spoke then only from memory of 18 months' previously, I let it pass. After, however, it was referred to by Swann on Nov. 20th, I bought the *Clarions* for the last three months of 1905 and found "The *Clarion* Post Bag" for Nov. 10th, 1905, contained the following:—

EAST MANCHESTER.

To the Editor of the *Clarion*.

Dear Sir,—Your article in *Clarion* of October 27 re Socialist candidate for East Manchester Parliamentary Division, was considered by our executive committee at their meeting on November 2, and I was instructed to inform you that the above committee was created by the Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council for the purpose of running Parliamentary Labour candidates in Manchester and Salford at the next General Election.

The committee is representative in character, consisting of trade unions and branches of the *Independent Labour Party*, and the constituencies they have selected to be contested are South-West and North-East Manchester Divisions.

Our candidates, Mr. G. D. Kelley and Mr. J. R. Clynes, have been before the constituents some time, their prospects of success are excellent, and they have received the endorsement of the National Labour Representation Committee.

Our executive committee are strongly of the opinion that the introduction of a Socialist or Labour candidate in East Manchester would seriously damage the good prospects of their candidates in S.W. and N.E. Manchester Divisions, and would tend to upset the cordial relations at present existing between the trade unions and Socialist organisations for independent political action, which has taken many years to bring about.

In view of these circumstances, they feel it would be a mistaken policy for the *Clarion* to put forward a Socialist candidate for East Manchester, and one which they, as the representative body of the Labour and Socialist bodies in the district, appointed for the specific purpose of running Parliamentary Labour candidates, could not countenance.—Yours sincerely,

J. NUTTALL.

Secretary, M/c & Salford Lbr. Rpn. Committee, 29, York Street, Broughton, Salford.

J. Butterworth, of 7, Royal Street, Ardwick, Secretary of the Ardwick I.L.P., had a letter in the same issue of the *Clarion* in which he states in reply to A. M. Thompson's "I wait now to hear from the constituency," (Nov. 3/05), that "I or someone else may have something definite to say upon the matter," "in the course of a few days." What that "something definite" was we gather from the *Clarion* of Dec. 1st, 1905, when there appeared the following in a letter, dated November 27th, 1905:—

"The following resolution was moved by Councillor Fox and seconded by Councillor Sutton:—

That this meeting of the members of East Man-

chester branches of the I.L.P. cannot consent to the candidature of Bramley without the consent of the M/c and Salford L.R.C. After discussion, the following amendment was moved by Comrade Hunt (of the Bradford branch), and seconded by Comrade Jones (of the Ardwick branch):—

"That we, members of the Ardwick and Bradford branches of the I.L.P., although, on account of our affiliation with the L.R.C., are unable to promote any candidature in East Manchester, cannot withhold our consent to the promotion of the candidature of F. Bramley for the division by the *Clarion* Board."

In explanation, A. M. Thompson said "The resolution conveyed in this letter shows misunderstanding of the situation. No candidature is, or can be, promoted by the *Clarion* Board."

F. W. Jowett, in the *Clarion* for December 15th, 1905, points out that "There is one thing, however, which is beyond doubt, and that is the duty of our members in constituencies where a candidate is being run by any of the organisations affiliated to the L.R.C., as an L.R.C. candidate. The cohesion of the Labour movement largely depends upon the thoroughness with which the sections in each constituency concerned unite on the man in the field, to whatever section he may belong."

Now, I maintain that the I.L.P. as a party affiliated to the L.R.C. are, as a matter of moral obligation, compelled to agree to any arrangement the L.R.C. may arrive (or connive) at. That they did act loyally to their L.R.C. confederates is shown by the words "we, on account of our affiliation to the L.R.C., are unable to promote any candidature in East Manchester" (their "consent" without support would have been useless to Bramley, as a candidate). Therefore it was a mere pious resolution. Had they supported Bramley they would have been false to their L.R.C. friends, because "the introduction of a Socialist or Labour candidate in M/c would seriously damage the good prospects" of Kelley and Clynes in S.W. & N.E. Divisions. (*vide* Sec. Nuttall of the L.R.C.). They were, on this showing, as members of the L.R.C., parties to the compact I spoke of.

Perhaps Mr. Swann may use words for a purpose different to that in which words are generally understood. But a compact is "a mutual agreement or contract, a treaty, a league, a confederacy." (Nuttall). That there was an agreement was made further evident when I saw in the *Clarion* for December 22nd, 1905 a letter signed "Unification," in which occurs the following:—

"That there is a great possible danger in the confusion of the word 'Labour' with the Liberal Party will be obvious to most people when we read such statements as appeared in a Manchester evening paper—that a certain Labour candidate saw eye to eye with the Liberals on nine points out of ten, and it would, therefore, not be policy to bring out a Liberal candidate and thus create a three-cornered fight. The ambiguity of the term is proving a valuable asset to the Liberal Party; but when we learn that the L.R.C. are averse to sanctioning the candidature of a Socialist for East Manchester, on the grounds that the Liberals would then contest the two Manchester divisions, where Labour candidates are nominated, we can certainly excuse the outsiders if they consider the Labour Party as a Liberal wing. What other complexion can be placed on such a help-me-and-I'll-help-you policy?"

And furthermore, in the *Manchester Courier* of December 16th last the following appears:—

LABOUR AND WEST SALFORD. Some time before the last General Election the Independent Labour Party displayed an anxiety to contest the West Salford Parliamentary Division, and formally adopted a candidate. As a result of an arrangement with the Liberal Party that Labour candidates should not be opposed in the North-East and South-West Manchester Divisions if the other Manchester and Salford Divisions were not contested by Labour candidates, the prospective nominee of the party withdrew. The Labour Party's love of Liberalism has not been improved in the last two years, and after the success of its own candidates in Manchester last year a renewal of the arrangement which gave the Liberals six candidates to Labour's two is not likely.

What has Mr. Swann to say now?—Yours fraternally,

J. BROUGH.

P.S.—As I did not join the S.P.G.B. until

28th August, 1907, the statement Mr. Swann dubbed a "deliberate lie" was not made by a member of the S.P.G.B., but that, of course, is a minor point.

COULD THE WORKERS CAPTURE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS?

Dear Comrade,—Are we justified in assuming that the working class, being the majority of the electors, could return a majority of Socialists to the House of Commons? I am at present rather dubious on this point, having seen some figures in the "Daily Mail Year Book" for 1908, which seem to disprove the contention that the working class have the power to elect a Socialist majority. For instance, Kilkenny has 1,584 electors and returns one M.P. while Wandsworth has 34,461 and only returns one M.P. The Romford Division of Essex returns but one M.P. and has an electorate numbering 47,614, and Newcastle, with 37,417 voters returns two M.P's.

Let us imagine an election to have taken place. A Conservative is returned for Kilkenny with 1,000 votes, and a Socialist is returned for Romford Division with 30,000 votes. We see here one Conservative and one Socialist returned, but the Conservative vote is only one-thirtieth that of the Socialist.

I should certainly think that the majority of the voters in divisions with a large electorate are proletarian, as it is only the workers who are found crowded together, while those divisions with a small electorate, which I believe are usually country divisions, would be mostly bourgeois.

In 1886 the Unionists were in a minority of 65,000 votes, yet they had a majority of 104 seats. We find a similar thing in Germany. The Social Democrats polled 3,251,000 votes and obtained 43 seats, while the Centre Party obtained 105 seats and polled only 2,247,000 votes.

I have written this letter in the hope that it may produce a discussion that will dispel these doubts from my mind.—Yours fraternally,

H. A. YOUNG.

Dec. 8th, 1907.

ELECTORAL TACTICS IN THE POTTERIES.

Sir,—Can a worse case of faking and compromise be found than the following?

At the recent Municipal elections the A.S.R.S. put forward a Mr. Robinson for the South Ward, and his candidature was endorsed by the North Staffs Trades and Labour Council. He is a member of the I.L.P., but did not mention that fact in his election address. Another member of the A.S.R.S., an ex-signalman named Leese, an expelled member of the I.L.P., who poses as a "Labour" man and who has acted as election agent for Mr. John Ward, M.P., undertook to serve in a similar capacity for Mr. Robinson. The Mayor, who was also running in the same ward, called upon Mr. Leese, threatened that he should be opposed next election, reminded him that his (the Mayor's) class gave liberally to the Widows' and Orphans' Fund of the A.S.R.S., that he (Leese) did not altogether depend upon the working class for his livelihood, and also that the railway companies were objecting to their servants contesting elections. The result was that a notice appeared in the *Standard* the following evening stating that Mr. Robinson had withdrawn, as he did not wish to oppose the Mayor!

In the Wellington Ward of Hanley, Mr. J. Lovatt, member of the S.D.F., and secretary of the Pottery Union, was put forward by his union as a Labour Candidate, although as he won Justice claimed the result as an S.D.F. victory. At an indoor meeting Mr. Lovatt said he was a Socialist but was putting that on one side and was running simply as a Labour candidate in order to be at peace with the non-Socialists in his union. On Oct. 30th he was supporting Mr. A. Stanley, M.P., an anti-Socialist, at a public meeting!

Thus do the place-hunters obscure the issue.

Yours faithfully, J.T.

Skelton.

[Do figs grow on thistles?—Ed. T.S.S.]

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard.

SATURDAY, FEB. 1, 1908.



Once a Liberal always a Liberal.

"Mr. MacDonald, who is certainly practical enough in Parliament, has been represented as a somewhat bitter critic of the present Government. I believe it to be a fact that he considers he has a grievance against the newspapers for the way they have ignored his repeated efforts to do justice to the Government's good works."

Manchester Guardian's London Correspondent, Jan. 9th, 1908.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald's political career has been an interesting one. Just previous to the general election of 1895 he was straining every nerve to induce the Liberal Executive to adopt him as one of their official candidates for Southampton. Had they done so and he had secured election, it is highly improbable that he would ever have been heard of as an "Independent" Labour man, provided always that the Liberal moneybags had recognised his "statesmanship" and seen to it that his political advancement was not retarded. But the official Liberals of Southampton would have none of him, and so, like many another job-hunter, he became "converted," and being anxious to enter Parliament, at once pushed himself forward as the "Independent Labour" candidate for the borough. At the last general election he secured the coveted membership of the House of Commons, sinking all the principles of political independence which the I.L.P. claim to have as their basis of operations, by making a compact with the Liberals of Leicester. That he is still, for all practical purposes, a Liberal, is shown by his remarks to a *Daily News* interviewer on January 8th. That interview, as the *D.N.* editor pointed out, was "an interesting evidence of the substantial identity of the immediate aims of Liberalism and Labour." Now the immediate aims of Liberalism are to maintain and, if possible, strengthen the economic supremacy of the master class over the working class. It is for that that they enter into politics, and as the immediate aims of the Labour Party are substantially identical (for the accuracy of the *D.N.*'s comment cannot be questioned) we are once more justified in our criticism of the Labour Party as upholders of capitalism. Moreover, Mr. MacDonald declared, "you can find Socialists in both the big political parties." Why, then, does not the Labour member for Leicester denounce them? They must be either ignorant or dishonest. But it is clear that in Mr. MacDonald's opinion Socialism is only a general term signifying a desire to reform, not to change the basis of Society, for he added "the people get Socialism from Tory as well as from Liberal Ministers"! Will the chairman of the Independent Labour Party take the object of that party (fearful and wonderful as it is) and explain how, if that is his idea of Socialism, the people are getting it from Tory as well as from Liberal Ministers?

Reform or Socialism?

There is one aspect of the editorial comments in the *Daily News* which deserves very careful consideration on the part of those who claim to be Socialists, but yet advocate reforms. It is idle to deny that many do so quite honestly, believing that there is little hope of the workers organising for Socialism until their conditions are vastly improved, and they must therefore ask, or appeal, or "demand" these reforms of their masters. The *Daily News* welcomes the pressure of the Labour Party in the direction of a generous scheme of old age pensions, as it can only be salutary, and will certainly come with equal conviction and energy from the Left Wing of Liberalism itself. The same thing, it adds, is true of the problem of unemployment. In its opinion, a niggardly scheme of pensions, and, above all, one which attempted to set up any discrimination on the basis of merit, would do more than anything else to disillusionise those workmen who trust the sympathies and goodwill of Liberalism. It might drive them to Tariff Reform, more probably it would convert them to Socialism. And so, as Mr. Cadbury's journal does not wish workmen to be converted to Socialism, it hopes the Government will pass something which, in the name of Socialism, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his party advocate. The *Daily News* knows, of course, that Old Age Pensions, whether carried out according to the plan of the Labour Party or otherwise, are in no sense of the word Socialism. They, therefore, do not father the twaddle of the I.L.P. chairman about getting Socialism from Tory as well as Liberal Ministers. As Mr. A. J. Balfour declared recently, Social Reform is the antidote to Socialism. It is therefore illogical for Socialists to advocate reforms. These will, of course, be passed into law by the master class whenever the exigencies of the political situation demand that operation. And as the working-class show they are becoming Socialists, the passing of reforms will be expedited by the capitalists. The only work then with which Socialists have to deal is the education of the workers to the principles of Socialism, for the spread of that education alone will secure, not only an amelioration of present conditions, but the complete change from capitalism to Socialism, which is necessary before freedom and general well-being can be possible for all mankind.

What's in the Wind.

Not only is Mr. J. R. MacDonald anxious to show how very little Liberalism has to fear from Labourism, but other Labour members are going about the country proclaiming that they are not Socialists, and evidently endeavouring to conciliate the Liberals. At Hulme Town Hall on November 28, Mr. G. D. Kelley, M.P. explained that he did not wish to see the Government wrecked by the introduction of an unacceptable Licensing Bill. But, from the workers' point of view, Liberals and Tories are but two names adopted by the one enemy, and it matters not to them which section of the enemy is in power or thrown out. Moreover, if the Labour Party's view is the correct one, and the next general election will see a large increase in their ranks in the House of Commons, it would suit their purpose better if the Government were wrecked at once, no matter on what. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Kelley was asked if he were a Socialist and replied in the negative. Hence his solicitude for the Liberal Government. Mr. H. Nuttall, Liberal M.P., mentioned at Heaton Mersey on December 20th that Mr. Clynes, M.P., had expressed himself in a way as to a practical working policy that he fully agreed with, and, commenting on this, the *Manchester Weekly Chronicle* pointed out that since Mr. Nuttall's speech Mr. Clynes, speaking at Hulme, said Socialism was a long way off, and they had to work for immediate reforms. Again we ask "what's in the wind?" Is it that the Labour members, anticipating an early general election, and fearing the Liberals will decline to renew the compacts by which so many Labour men became Labour members, fearing the Liberals will force them to fight three-cornered contests, are striving to conciliate the Liberals as much as possible, with a view to preventing such a (to them) dire catastrophe as is here foreshadowed?

SUFFRAGE AND SEX.

CIVILIZATION, carrying with it as it does, patent evidences of its savage ancestry, frantically endeavouring to hide its humble origin, vainly imagining Gardens of Eden and naked simplicity instead of primeval forest and low-browed beast man, indignant when the first glimmerings of truth appear, ashamed and apologetic by turns when its pedigree can no longer be denied, is necessarily the depository of shams and cant.

No cant that Civilization has uttered is more sickening than that indulged in with regard to the

POSITION OF WOMEN.

"Chivalry" is a rosy-hued dream, compounded of deeds of derring-do against wicked monsters and the rescue of innocent maidens. It is left for the Historical Materialist to lift the veil and to INSIST UPON the viewing of the sinister visage underneath; "Booty and Beauty" in times of war, the feudal lord's "right of the first night" in times of peace, for one Sir Galahad a dozen Lancelots; "bars sinister" brazenly emblazoned on shield, and the Madonna enshrined a second Venus—not without corresponding rites.

Protestantism, the true religious reflex of capitalism, affects utmost concern for women, has no bounds for its indignation against monks and nuns who have converted monastery and nunnery into a stew, a virtuous Bluff King Hal and equally virtuous

GOOD QUEEN BESS

are deeply concerned for the morals of the nation, what time Luther is defending polygamy and a "virgin queen" is wantoning with Leicester.

The Industrial Revolution brings in its train a crowd of "philanthropists" and religious revivalists who hold up their hands in horror at the inevitable immorality in factory and field which surely follows the Revolution, the rising tide of prostitution which is actually one of the bulwarks of capitalist society.

And now, to-day, when men are being replaced by women in the industrial world, the woman misleader is apparently commencing to compete with the man of the same genus, and to draw her own particular red herring across the path of progress to the workers' emancipation. From the platform and from the police dock, to "court-teous" Cabinet minister and brutally business-like "steward" they shout

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

—to which Herbert Burrows, member of the Social Democratic Federation, takes exception, and gently seeks to chide. He, as a "revolutionary Socialist," points out that the fight is "disingenuous," nay, even "crooked." They are merely fighting for a limited franchise for women. He urges them to become, like himself, an "ardent adult suffragist."

Burrows believes in progress—backwards. The Chartists 60 years ago "demanded" adult suffrage.

Above this din rings out the clarion cry in the DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. "The emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race OR SEX."

We of the Socialist Party of Great Britain refuse to be led aside by any of the discordant cries around us. Our goal is the Socialist Republic, where, economically free, the position of woman will be no longer determined by mere property relations, where lip-service homage will give place to high devotion, where "the dark shadow of haerism" will be as the fast-fading memory of a bad dream, and the hateful marriage mart a hideous fossil found on the shores of Time to remind the race of its hard probation in the wilderness of capitalism, where woman will be

"Spouse, Sister, Angel! Pilot of the Fate Whose course has been so starless.
A divine presence in a place divine,
That on the fountain of our heart a seal
Will set to keep its waters pure and bright."

A. REGINALD.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

Labour Statesmanship.

The question of unemployment was the first to occupy the preliminary conference of the Labour Party at Hull. "Important" speeches were made by the "statesmen of labour," and a no less "important" resolution was passed.

Mr. Pete Curran said: "Until we are in a position to utilise the legislative machinery of the country for the purpose of curtailing the income of the rich who are in possession, and in adding to the income of the poor, we shall never solve the unemployed problem."

Mr. J. R. MacDonald, in moving the important resolution said: "Unemployment was now part and parcel of our industrial system; it was produced by the system with the same certainty and accuracy with which the industrial system produced profits."

Mr. O'Grady in seconding that resolution said: "The present industrial system was a machine turning out profits on the one hand and unemployed on the other. It was inevitable that it must be so."

From the foregoing extracts from the most "important" speeches that were uttered on the question, our readers will naturally gather that since unemployment could confessedly only end by the abolition of capitalism, therefore the resolution that was carried by an overwhelming majority urged that steps should immediately be taken to instruct and organise the working class in the work before them, namely, to concentrate upon the capture of the powers of government to the end that the productive powers may be transformed from instruments of oppression and exploitation, into the means of promoting the welfare of those who produce.

But no. That would not have been statesmanlike. It would have been too logical.

This was the resolution actually carried:—

That in the opinion of this conference of trade union, Socialist, and co-operative organisations, unemployment is not caused by the free trade policy of the country, and is not averted by periods of good trade, but is a permanent feature of our present industrial organisation. This conference therefore declares that the problem can only be solved by a vigorous use on the part of the Government, and of local authorities, of the legislative and administrative powers, including shortening the hours of labour of public and other employees and protecting the worker from the operation of land and other monopolies, which depopulate the country, overcrowd the towns, lower wages, and increase the share of the national produce which is secured by the idle rich. This conference consequently calls upon the Government to fulfil its promise in the King's Speech of 1906 that it would amend the Unemployed Workmen Act, and it declares that such an amendment to be satisfactory must embody the principles and general policy of the Labour Party's Unemployed Workmen Bill.

And that is so like the Labour Party. The unemployed, you see, can only disappear on the abolition of capitalism, therefore, do not let us take steps to that end, let us ask the capitalists to abolish themselves!

If no unemployed are available, the capitalist loses his great weapon in the cutting down of wages and in the speeding up of the employed, nor is any reserve army available for the expansion of production in busy times, nor are any available to take the place of strikers. Without the deadly competition of the unemployed for jobs, the employed would be enabled to obtain almost the whole available product of their labour. Profits would therefore vanish and capitalism come to an end. Yet the master class are to be asked to themselves abolish the very cornerstone of their dominant existence. This is reasonable, possible, statesmanlike, reform wisdom.

When we on the other hand insist that since unemployment is inseparable from capitalism, and since from unemployment flow the greatest miseries of the workers, including the wholesale starvation of children, women and men, and since, moreover, the abolition of capitalist exploitation is admittedly the only solution of unemployment, therefore the workers should concentrate upon the capture of political supremacy in order to abolish class exploitation, when we insist upon this, the only logical policy, we are dubbed impossibilists, heresy hunters, or

moon-raking rainbow-chasers by those whose hard-headed, practical and "possible" policy consists in requesting of fire that it shall not burn.

A Reform Analysed.

But what is one of the principal factors upon which the Labour Party relies in its solution of the unemployed? It is the reduction of the hours of labour. There is nothing to be said against the reduction of the hours of labour as such, but as a solution of unemployment what could be more fatuous?

From the passing of the Ten Hour Act until the present day nothing is more certain than that the reduction of hours has not in the aggregate of cases decreased, but has caused an increase in productivity. That is to say, instead of more workers being required to produce the same amount as formerly, fewer are actually required. This holds good generally. It is partly due to the fact that the very reduction of hours, by allowing a greater time for the recuperation of his strength to the worker, enables him to put forth a greater effort per hour. He is, indeed, usually compelled to do so, and to produce as much or more in the reduced working day as in the former longer hours.

Further, there are in most departments, mechanical appliances ready for adoption which for the nonce are no cheaper to work than the human machines they would displace. When, however, an increase in the wages bill threatens, these appliances are introduced to save such increased expenditure, and by reason of the continual perfectibility of the machine, particularly due to the experience born of its being put into practical daily working, the appliances improve rapidly and bring about considerable reductions in the number of workers the masters need hire in order to produce the same amount of goods as before.

Therefore the reduction of hours, unless carried to such extreme and wholesale lengths as would require a revolution to accomplish, would not reduce the numbers of the unemployed.

Any reduction of the working day that is introduced by the ruling class will, from the very interests which promote it, be only upon such a scale as is consistent with greater output on the part of the average worker employed and greater profit for the possessing class.

So the reduction of hours, as a "palliative," instead of requiring more workers to be employed to produce the same amount of wealth as before would, in the long run, actually require less, and would have the tendency to increase rather than diminish the very evil of unemployment against which it was directed. It is, indeed, a typical palliative.

F.C.W.

PARTY NOTES.

The Manchester Branch continues to do well. Each week brings fresh tidings of meetings held and literature sold. They attend meetings of other parties, asking questions and offering opposition, and selling Manifestoes. This is distinctly good business. On Jan. 19th Moses Baritz was refused permission to oppose an I.L.P. speaker. Owing to his persistency the Manchester (Central) branch closed the meeting, whereupon Baritz addressed the audience and afterwards had a good sale of our literature.

At the Co-operative Hall, Burnley, last month, Mr. Philip Snowden was asked how he reconciled his position with the compacts made by I.L.P. candidates with the Liberals at Leicester and Halifax at the general election. Mr. Snowden denied that any compacts existed.

A Manchester comrade has sent Mr. Snowden, in a registered envelope, a copy of the Manifesto of the S.P.G.B. in which full particulars of these compacts are given. Mr. Snowden will therefore be enabled to reply to the question differently when he speaks at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Feb. 2nd.

The Manifesto is the most comprehensive statement of our position yet made, and all comrades should do their best to push it. A Third

Edition is now ready, the second edition of 5,000 being sold out within seven months. This edition should be sold out before the Easter Conference.

The second of the Kautsky pamphlets will be shortly on sale at a penny. Branches can be supplied at the usual price of 13 copies for 9d.

The last month has seen a large number of debates, and preparations for several are even now in progress.

At Poplar on Jan. 12th Anderson debated with R. C. K. Ensor the question of "Reform v. Revolution." Ensor boasts of being the best educated man in East London, but his arguments on behalf of reform were of the usual kind dealt with in these columns. Will Crooks M.P., was present at the debate and assisted the proceedings by shouting "liar!" "liar!" during the course of Anderson's speech.

Although wit and learning were thus combined against us in Poplar, and although our man had to speak first to draw the crowd, some of the audience will have been given furiously to think as a result of hearing a word for the other side.

The Islington Branch have fixed up a debate in Grovedale Hall, Upper Holloway, on Thursday, Feb. 6th, at 8 p.m., between A. Anderson and Councillor Dey on the question whether "Socialism would be detrimental to the interests of the People."

Meetings will be continued on subsequent Thursdays until further notice in Grovedale Hall.

Fitzgerald debated at Battersea with an Anarchist on the 12th Jan. All the other Anarchists present disagreed with their exponent's exposition, with the result that Fitzgerald debates again, with another Anarchist, in the same hall. Watch Battersea's lecture list.

Tooting Branch have challenged the Rev. Waldron to debate, and he has accepted. Negotiations are pending.

We have received a letter from Comrade T. Dix, from Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A., in which he draws a gloomy picture of poverty in the land of the free. He corroborates our conviction that there is no essential difference between the conditions of the working class in Protectionist and in Free Trade countries. Comrade Dix sends fraternal greetings to his old comrades. He will be remembered as the secretary of the Tottenham Branch a year or so ago.

We have pleasure in reporting the formation of a branch of the Party in Clapham. There is plenty of S.P.G.B. work to be done there and anyone willing to assist should communicate with the secretary (see Branch Directory).

Romford Division Branch are making satisfactory progress in their new Club premises. On Jan. 19th J. Kent dealt with other parties, specially criticising the Ilford Socialist Party. The discussion was long and lively, and was eventually adjourned to Feb. 2nd.

At the S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford, a speaker's class is held every Thursday, at 9 p.m., conducted by J. Kent.

K.

"The Socialists voted for a little known barrister, on the express understanding that in certain other divisions of Manchester and in neighbouring constituencies the orthodox Liberal should abstain from opposing Labour candidates."

The above extract from the leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* of January 21st last should be read in conjunction with the correspondence columns of this issue.

THE WORKERS' SHARE.

THE *Morning Advertiser*, commenting upon the unemployed problem, said:—

It is an old fallacy that shortening the hours of labour of those who have work will enable those who have no work to find it. If, indeed, it were the case that the shortening of his hours increased the efficiency, and therefore the productivity, of the worker, such an effect might be produced. But there are probably very few cases in which this would be so; and of those the Socialists were certainly not thinking. They mean by shortening the man's hours to reduce the product of his day's work. The result would be diminished wealth, and consequently diminished opportunities for employment.

Socialists do, indeed, realise that in the reduction of unemployment the reduction of hours is only of use in so far as it necessitates the employment of more wage workers. The wily *Advertiser* scents the danger of a knowledge of this antagonism of interests, and hastens to assure its readers that the reduction of hours could only alleviate unemployment if it increased the efficiency and output of labour, and so, as it certainly would, enabled more work to be done by fewer men! True, the *Advertiser* did not say which unemployed. One can quite understand an improvement in the lot of the wealthy unemployed following upon a decrease in their wages bill and an increase in their wealth.

The interests of that class demand greater efficiency and productivity on the part of the workers, together with a reduction in that portion of the total wealth spent in wages. And the organ of Bung so puts the matter as to convey the idea (which is greedily swallowed by the Labourites who do not realise, or do not want to realise, the fact of the class antagonism) that capital and labour are brothers sharing proportionately out of the bowl into which the total produce of labour is poured. *The labourer, however, is a hireling and not a partner.* Out of the total wealth his labour produces he gets but his keep while lucky enough to be employed. The more he produces and the quicker the demand of the market is met, the less of his fellows are employed, the sooner he is thrown out of work, and the smaller in proportion is the aggregate share the workers obtain out of the total wealth produced.

It is not, then, as the *Advertiser* would have it, a question of the increase or decrease in the total wealth, but rather a question of the increase in the number of workers that the master class needs to employ and pay in the production of that wealth. It is a question, in other words, of the share of the total product which the workers obtain, not of its total amount.

The Socialist realises that out of the total product of labour the more the workers get the less remains for the idlers. The worker's interests under capitalism are rather in the direction of promoting the waste of wealth than in promoting its increase. Not overflowing warehouses, stores and shops and glutted markets, but the destruction of accumulated stocks of commodities and of all kinds of property that must be replaced is the worker's desire under capitalism, so that he and his fellows may have plenty of work, and of wages sufficient to live upon. It is, therefore, idle for the *Advertiser* to pretend that the workers' share cannot increase unless the total produce is increased. Such, however, is the normal capitalist view of things. But, to paraphrase Marx, it is forgotten that the bowl from which the workmen eat is filled with the whole produce of labour, and what prevents them fetching more out is neither the narrowness of the bowl nor the scantiness of its contents, but only the smallness of their spoons.

While capitalism endures the share of the "national" wealth that is obtained by the workers is determined not by the amount of the total wealth but by the condition of the labour market and the strength of the workers in their struggle against the possessing class. Not in the increase of the "national" wealth, but in the increase of their share in it, is the wage-slave class primarily concerned. It is, indeed, the very impotence of the workers in their attempts to increase their share of the total produce of their labour, so long as capitalism is, that must compel them to realise at last the only way; and that is through the overthrow of capitalist rule and in social production for themselves. F.C.W.

ISLINGTON BRANCH REPORT.

REORGANISED in October, 1906, the Islington Branch has made steady progress. Our propaganda meetings have been the means of converting, among others, several members of the I.L.P. to Socialism, who have therefore resigned that body and joined the Socialist Party. The meetings, both at Highbury Corner and Finsbury Park, have well attended. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD sells well here, and we are always sure of a good collection. Several debates have taken place in Finsbury Park, the most notable of which were those with Fred Bramley, late of the Clarion Van, and Mr. Byland, of the Constitutional League. A report of the former appeared in the Party organ, while the latter was given a column in the *Islington Gazette*. We are now trying to arrange a debate with the Islington Branch of the S.D.F. on the question of "The palliative position of the S.D.F. v. the non palliative position of the S.P.G.B." Finishing up a very successful open air propaganda season, we looked about for a means of carrying on our work indoors, and finally succeeded in obtaining a hall, described by the local press as "the cosy, well lighted, well warmed, cheery-looking Grovedale Hall," situated in Grovedale Road, Elthorne Road, Upper Holloway, close to Highgate tram terminus. Here we shall continue our work of converting the proletariat of Islington to Socialism. A debate has been arranged with a member of the Islington Borough Council, particulars of which we give from the *Islington Post*: "The first of a series of meetings to be held under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will be the much talked of debate between Councillor Thomas Henry Dey and Mr. A. Anderson, of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which will take place in Grovedale Hall on Thursday, February 6th. The Chair will be taken by Alderman T. Wakelin Saint at 8 p.m. Councillor Dey will open for half an hour, and take the affirmative on the question 'Would Socialism be detrimental to the interest of the people?' Mr. Anderson will have half an hour to reply. Councillor Dey will have another twenty minutes and his opponent twenty minutes, then a final ten minutes each. Admission will be free to all." Several debates have taken place from the enemy's platform on "Christianity v. Socialism," and on one occasion, in spite of 8 degrees of frost, the audience numbered several hundreds.

Islington, like most other districts, has its poverty problem, and in Pentonville it is most acute. In this district a Children's Care Committee has been formed "for the relief of children suffering from want of food." Four schools alone: White Lion St., Risinghill St., Ann St., and Winchester St., have 4,836 children on their roll. The statement of an official in the Pentonville Branch of the Salvation Army that "In spite of all our efforts poverty in Pentonville is increasing," proves once more that charity cannot cope with the problem. Neither can any other palliative of capitalism. If you desire to know the only solution come to Grovedale Hall on Thursday evenings.

H.A.Y.

TOTTENHAM BRANCH REPORT.

We are still carrying on our outdoor operations in this district, despite inclement weather. During the last six months of 1907, 90 propaganda meetings were held, the aggregate amount collected bringing over £13 into the Party funds. Our literature sales are on the increase: during one month we cleared 300 SOCIALIST STANDARDS, 150 "Art, Labour and Socialism," and 100 Manifestoes. Our flourishing financial position enabled us to donate £2 a month to the Centre. We have enrolled 40 new members during the period. On Saturday, August 10th, we opened up propaganda in Walthamstow, and since then some 16 very successful meetings have been held there, to the obvious discomfort of the local reform parties, who have endeavoured to defend themselves (and incidentally advertise their literature) from our platform, while steadfastly refusing to allow our members to get upon theirs. A debate took place on Sept. 20th between Mr. Whybrow (I.L.P.) and Comrade Anderson on "The Tactics of the S.P.G.B.," and a Mr. C. Quinn was also met and disposed of, the subject being "Is the S.P.G.B. the only Socialist Party?"

We have now a sufficient number of members in that district to form a branch, and the coming summer season will surely see the Walthamstow branch in the "Directory." On Christmas morning we held a meeting at Seven Sisters Corner, making a special collection for the Head Office, which realized 15s 7d.

We are running a series of discussions in the hall of the "Sunbeam" on Wednesday evenings, where we "sharpen our swords and test our bucklers" that we may be ready to do battle on the behalf of and in defence of The Socialist Party in

TOTTENHAM.

A DISCUSSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE leading article in the December issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has been replied to—in a way.

On Christmas eve, when thoughts were turned to wishing Peace on Earth and Goodwill to All Men, the author of that article met Messrs. Williams and Greenwood. Williams said nothing—Greenwood said much.

He assured me he had read my "mean, contemptible, despicable article" in my "dirty little rag," and proceeded to give his opinion of the Party in general and me in particular. This opinion was not very flattering nor couched in particularly elegant language, and I suggested that when he had quite exhausted his vocabulary of abusive terms he might attempt to refute the statements in the article, or even argue the points mentioned. He assured me, with much gesticulation, that the only way he would argue with me would be to take me by the throat and strangle the life out of me. But as this would still have left the points of difference in dispute the offer was not accepted.

Then I was subjected to a further denunciation for "belittling men who had made such sacrifices for the movement." The Communist Manifesto states "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to win." And as I presume you cannot sacrifice what you never had, I disagree with his remarks about sacrifices.

But he didn't mind my theorising on the question of unemployment; what he objected to was my way of imputing dishonesty to them. I replied that if they could square their method of organising the unemployed with the principles of Socialism I should be glad to hear it. Again he expressed his desire to punch my head, but Ludgate Circus at 2 o'clock in the afternoon did not offer a good opportunity, so that his discretion supplanted his valour (!). True, he invited me to "bring up my pals" after the punching process, but the invitation was declined. His parting shot was that he was of the opinion that I was not a Socialist but a paid agent of the Tory Party! This after waxing wrathfully eloquent over my "insinuations."

It is doubtful whether the incident is worth much attention. The anger of Mr. Greenwood clearly shows he has no case and knows it; and, personally, I regret that he should have so far descended as to make a fool and a blackguard of himself. To bystanders, hearing a man raving in the name of Socialism does not reflect any credit on it, and when he wants to strangle an opponent and go to other absurd lengths to manifest disagreement they are still less likely to be attracted to the movement. If I had said anything in my article which was incorrect, it was, and is, open to Mr. Greenwood or any other to write to the editor explaining the error, and demanding a withdrawal. For my part, I am certain that the mere receipt of a decently courteous expression of disapproval would do more to alter my opinion than all the abuse and the threats which even Mr. Greenwood is capable of.

I trust that his attitude is not typical of his organisation on this matter of argument, because if questions in dispute are to be settled by an appeal to physical force, the S.D.F. would be proved wrong by the powers that be, as would any opinion that happened to be in the minority, and I cannot believe that the man with the stronger arm is always more correct than the weaker one, any more than Mr. Greenwood's greater size and strength would infallibly prove the incorrectness of the position of—

R. H. KENT.

HERE AND THERE.

ON Sunday, January 12th, the Hyde I.L.P. and Labour Church held two meetings in the Theatre Royal, Corporation Street. Councillor John Lachlan said they would find, if they considered his practical work, that Christ believed absolutely in the collective ownership of the means of life. Nineteen hundred years ago, he said, Christ founded the creed of Socialism.

One can quite understand the *North Cheshire Herald's* reporter's statement that this Councillor gave a humorous speech!

At the same meeting Mr. J. A. Seddon, M.P., was asked about the Labour Party's Unemployed Bill and the penal clause. He replied that he was not there to defend the Bill nor to say it was a step in the right direction. He did not claim to know the solution of the unemployed problem, and if they were to wait until the remedy was brought about he thought the questioner was a greater enemy to the unemployed than to anyone else.

If this report is correct what a tower of strength to the Labour Party Mr. Seddon must be.

According to the "Trenchant Manifesto" issued by the Trade Union and Labour Officials Temperance Fellowship, one of the reasons why the liquor traffic is an enemy of the working-class movement is because "it lessens the industrial efficiency of the worker."

In so far as it does this, of course, it tends to relieve the pressure of the unemployed problem. New and improved machinery, better organisation of industry, more healthful conditions of employment, increase the efficiency of the worker and increase the unemployed.

It is rather cool of the T.U. and L.O.T.F. to accuse the liquor trade of "a sinister avowal that it sets its own trade interests above the welfare of the nation" because its motto is "Our trade our politics," when it is remembered that existing trade unions set the welfare of their own members not only against that of workers outside but in many cases against members of other trade unions. As a rule, too, by their high fees and other restrictions the unions limit their "benefits" to the privileged few who are permitted to join.

"On the whole, there is nothing to lead one to suppose that there will be any irreconcilable differences between the Labour Party and the Government when the House of Commons is invited to discuss Mr. Asquith's scheme (of old age pensions).—*Daily Chronicle*, Jan. 20th.

At the Labour Party Conference on Unemployment, Mr. Will Thorne, the S.D.F. M.P., declared "bluntly" that the Party's Unemployed Bill only played with the question. And yet, as the astute, and far from blunt, Ramsay MacDonald pointed out, Mr. Thorne has backed this very bill.

Out of his own mouth, therefore, is the member for South West Ham condemned. He has put his name to a bill that is a fraud, and must support it in the House of Commons.

At the same meeting Mr. Thorne asked why, if those present believed that Socialism is the only remedy, they did not say so?

This is pot and kettle with a vengeance, seeing that Mr. Thorne, on his own confession, sunk his Socialism and ran as a "Labour" candidate only at the General Election, and also supported Mr. Percy Alden, the Liberal candidate for Tottenham, S.D.F. rules and L.R.C. Constitution notwithstanding.

Mr. Theodore C. Taylor, M.P., recently visited Japan and China and, as a result of his investigations, he urges that if we (i.e., British capital-

ists) are to retain our hold upon the world's markets, our aim must be better work and more work in the time, to correspond with the shorter hours we now work. As yet, he says, it is mainly in coarse counts that China and Japan compete with Lancashire, but he sees nothing to prevent their spinning finer counts as well. One company whose works he saw had eleven policemen of their own and in the manager's office was a row of twenty-four rifles for use in case of need. (Of course, there is no class-war: capital and labour are brothers!) The company had also provided a Roman Catholic church, a school, and a free dispensary as equipment of the "village" they have built for their workfolks. How kind!

If the schoolmaster can't educate the Chinamen as to the advantage of being wage-slaves, and if the priest cannot chloroform them—well, let's try the cops and the rifles. It is astonishing how effective is the fear of man when the love of God fails!

By their Gas Act of 1875 the Widnes Corporation are compelled to devote all profits arising from the gasworks to either extension or to reduction of price, but they have now inserted a clause in the Bill they are bringing before Parliament to empower them to devote the profits to the relief of the rates. The landlords are supporting the proposal and the big chemical and soap magnates are opposing it.

If it were true that rents rise or fall because rates rise or fall, the change would make no difference to the landlords, and they would not therefore be opposing the manufacturers on the point.

Mr. H. Quelch, of the Social Democratic Federation, was present at the Hull Labour Party Conference, disguised as a Trade Union delegate.

He asked the Conference to declare itself, and let them know absolutely where they were.

We can understand his desire to find out where he was and what he was doing, in view of the S.D.F. refusal to again affiliate with the Labour Party, because it is not a Socialist party.

He also said that he objected to a Labour Party which was a non-Socialist party in England and a Socialist party on the Continent.

It is no doubt because he objects to it that he was supporting it at its National Conference.

Mr. Bruce Glasier did not wish to impose Socialism upon those who were not prepared to declare for it.

And, he might have added, he was not prepared to declare for it whilst it was more profitable, politically and financially, to hide it.

J.B.

MEN v. MACHINERY.

To work all the suspended scenery by an electric motor instead of by hand, Mr. Frank Curzon has just had an installation, invented by Mr. Edward Lytton, put up at Wyndham's Theatre, and yesterday he saw it in working for the first time.

The saving of labour, money, and time effected by the machinery is wonderful, for now, instead of a theatre requiring from ten to thirty men—according to the work to be done—up in the flies, one man with the machine, which will not cost more than a shilling a week for electric power, can raise and lower all the scene cloths and sky borders and the curtain. It will set a ceiling-piece automatically, will take up scenes at the same moment as it is lowering others, and obviates the necessity of the stage carpenter calling up directions as to whether or not the scenery has been let down the correct distance.

The fact that wire instead of hempen ropes are used, for reason of safety in case of fire, secured the approval of the London County Council, and the reliability of the machine has been guaranteed by the experiments which the inventor has carried out at the Coronet Theatre. *Daily Mail*, Jan. 22nd.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W.T.S. (Crews).—Irrespective of our opinion in the matter, the General Secretary and Executive Committee of the A.S.R.S. are condemned out of their own mouths. In April last they issued a manifesto to Railwaymen in which they said: "The delegates" (at Birmingham in November, 1906) "also decided that all negotiations relative to the men's conditions shall be conducted through the Head Office, and the General Secretary of the Society. It may at once be definitely accepted that until this is done the men cannot hope for any great or substantial reforms." The italics are ours. The income of the Union in 1906 was £82,978 6s. 0d. and the expenditure £50,813 1s. 1d., of which £25,214 0s. 8d. was paid to members in benefits, £69 17s. 0d. in contributions to other Unions, and £25,529 3s. 5d. went in salaries of officers and other expenses of management.

J.B. (Manchester).—At the 1903 Newcastle Conference of the L.R.C. the constitution was revised, but has not since been altered. Candidates pledge themselves to accept the constitution, and "to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties." At that Conference it was moved by Mr. John Hodge (Steel Smelters) and seconded by Mr. C. Freak (Boot & Shoe Operatives) "That this Labour Representation Conference, representing nearly a million organised workers, unanimously endorses the candidature of Wm. Crooks, L.C.C., for the bye-election at Woolwich, rejoices in the chance of the return of another member to Parliament who accepts the Constitution of the Committee, and begs every workman in the division to vote for Crooks." This resolution was carried with one dissentient. The Constitution was revised after the passing of this resolution. At the fourth Conference (Bradford, 1904) the Executive gave the result of the bye-election, describing Mr. Crooks as the L.R.C. candidate and included him in their list of L.R.C. candidates for the next elections. His name also appeared in the next annual report as a candidate and in the following one as an L.R.C. Member of Parliament. Mr. Crooks received £200 from the Committee for his salary for 1906, and presumably, therefore, he was taking the money of the L.R.C. at the time he sent the letter in support of Mr. Hamar Greenwood at York. No member's salary is paid until he has signed the Constitution.

M.B. (Manchester).—It was stated by *Reynold's Newspaper* of January 14th, 1906 that, among other "Socialists," E. Belfort Bax, J. F. Green, and A. S. Headingley, all of the S.D.F., were members of the National Liberal Club, and that before being elected, every candidate must take a pledge that he will support the principles of the Liberal Party. Mr. Bax makes no secret of his membership. In the *Social Democrat* for July, 1902, J. B. Askew wrote: "It certainly seems curious that Bax, who is so severe on Bernstein, finds it consistent with his hatred of Liberalism to remain a member of a club which makes it a condition of membership that a member should recognise the principles of the Liberal Party." But then, are not the armchairs comfortable, and the whisky good? In the following issue Bax replied as follows: "Those members of the S.D.F. (and they count among them men who have certainly paid their tribute to the Cause in the past) who like myself are members of the N.L.C., etc. We believe that Mr. H. M. Hyndman is also a member. At any rate he was one of the speakers on May 25th, 1906, when Mr. W. M. Thompson was the guest at a dinner of the Club. Mr. Hyndman spoke after John Burns' A. Hayday, S.D.F., is president of the South West Ham Radical Club of which W. Thorne and J. Jones are also members.

S.T. (Glasgow).—The S.D.F. "demand" is for "compulsory military training" and this cannot be had without military discipline. The S.D.F. must recognise this, because in that weird document which they term their programme they declare for the abolition of standing armies (number not stated), and the establishment of national citizen forces (number also omitted), and afterwards the abolition of courts-martial; all offences against discipline to be transferred to the jurisdiction of civil courts. So that they anticipate there will be offences against discipline even when they have national citizen forces.

Liberals must persevere with their accepted policy of combining the defence of Free Trade with reasonable, just, and prudent Social Reform, which indeed becomes all the more necessary as a protection against the wild schemes of extremists. *Daily Chronicle*.

Exact justice is commonly more merciful in the long run than pity, for it tends to foster in men those stronger qualities which make them good citizens. LOWELL.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST. FEB., 1908.

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 T. A. Jackson	J. McManus	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman
Canning Town, Beckton Rd.	11.30 F. E. Dawkins	R. H. Kent	E. Fairbrother	W. Gifford
Finchbury Park	11.30 A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson
Jolly Butchers' Hill	7.30 R. H. Kent	A. Pearson	J. Crump	A. Anderson
"	7.30 J. Crump	J. Crump	R. H. Kent	J. Crump
Lavender Hill, Cedars Rd.	11.30 W. H. Evans	E. Fawcett	H. Young	J. E. Roe
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Kent	W. A. Cole	F. E. Dawkins	H. Phillips
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	W. Gifford	F. C. Watts
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. McManus	T. A. Jackson	J. McManus	T. A. Jackson
"	8.0 T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil	H. J. Newman	P. Dumenil
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins
"	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen

For indoor lectures see special advertisements.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**Earlsfield and Tooting Branches.****PUBLIC MEETINGS**

WILL BE HELD AT

BRIDGMAN'S COFFEE TAVERN
(corner of Burtop Road, Garratt Lane).Saturday, Feb. 8th—J. FITZGERALD:—
"The Class War."Thursday, Feb. 20th—J. KENT:—
"The Programme of the S.D.F."

Commence at 8 p.m. — All invited.

SUNDAY EVENINGS

AT

Battersea Branch
(LABURNUM HOUSE, 134, HIGH STREET).Feb. 2nd—SOCIAL AND DANCE.
" 9th—MOSES BARITZ (of Manchester):—
"Why I left the S.D.F."
" 16th—F. E. DAWKINS:—
"Socialism and the Constitution."
" 23rd—Debate between J. FITZGERALD
(S.P.G.B.) and N. WALTER
(Anarchist).Commence at 7.30 p.m. Questions, Discussion.
Opponents warmly welcomed.**SUNDAY EVENINGS AT ILFORD.****S.P.G.B. CLUB, 27, YORK ROAD**
(back of Ilford Railway Station).Feb. 2nd—Adjourned Debate:—
"The S.P.G.B. and the Ilford
Socialist Party."
" 9th—H. PHILLIPS:—
"The Drink Question."
" 16th—W. GIFFORD:—
"Working-Class Economics."
" 23rd—W. WATTS:—
"Trade Unionism and Socialism."Commence at 8. Questions. Discussion.
Opponents invited.**MANIFESTO**

OF THE

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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age Road, Harringay, N. Branch meets 1st
and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road,
Wood Green.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**
ISLINGTON BRANCH.**= Grovedale Hall, =****GROVEDALE ROAD, ELTHORNE ROAD,**
UPPER HOLLOWAY.

(3 minutes from "Archway" Tavern).

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8.15.Feb. 6th—Debate between A. ANDERSON
(S.P.G.B.) and Councillor T. H. DEY:—
"Would Socialism be detrimental to
the interest of the people?"" 13th—J. KENT:—
"The S.P.G.B.: its object and methods."" 20th—F. C. WATTS:—
"The Political rôle of Religion."" 27th—J. FITZGERALD:—
"Political and Economic Organisations."— Discussion and opposition invited. —
Admission Free.**THE**
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.***The establishment of a system of society
based upon the common ownership and demo-
cratic control of the means and instruments
for producing and distributing wealth by and
in the interest of the whole community.***Declaration of Principles****THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN****HOLDS**That society as at present constituted is
based upon the ownership of the means of living
(i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the cap-
italist or master-class, and the consequent enslave-
ment of the working-class, by whose labour
alone wealth is produced.That in society, therefore, there is an antag-
onism of interests, manifesting itself as a class
struggle, between those who possess but do not
produce, and those who produce but do not
possess.That this antagonism can be abolished only
by the emancipation of the working-class from
the domination of the master-class, by the con-
version into the common property of society of
the means of production and distribution, and
their democratic control by the whole people.That as in the order of social evolution the
working-class is the last class to achieve its free-
dom, the emancipation of the working-class will
involve the emancipation of all mankind without
distinction of race or sex.That this emancipation must be the work of
the working-class itself.That as the machinery of government, includ-
ing the armed forces of the nation, exists only to
conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of
the wealth taken from the workers, the working-
class must organise consciously and politically
for the conquest of the powers of government,
national and local, in order that this machinery,
including these forces, may be converted from
an instrument of oppression into the agent of
emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,
aristocratic and plutocratic.That as all political parties are but the ex-
pression of class interests, and as the interest of
the working-class is diametrically opposed to
the interests of all sections of the master-class,
the party seeking working-class emancipation
must be hostile to every other party.THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, there-
fore, enters the field of political action deter-
mined to wage war against all other political
parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly
capitalist, and calls upon the members of the
working-class of this country to muster under
its banner to the end that a speedy termination
may be wrought to the system which deprives
them of the fruits of their labour, and that
poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to
equality, and slavery to freedom.**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.**

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

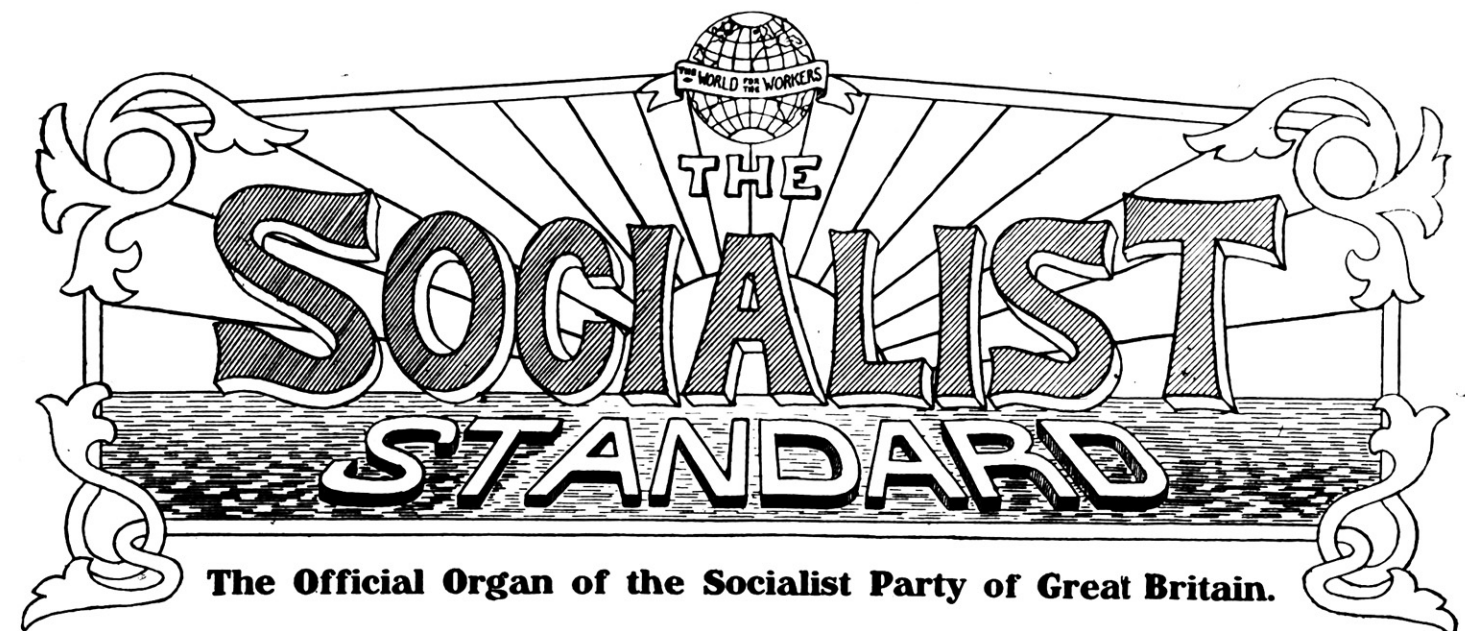
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above
principles, and request enrolment as a member
of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if de-
tached from Declaration printed above. The
complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 43. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, MARCH, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

1. COMMERCE AND CREDIT.

We have seen how the masses of the population in the countries where the mode of capitalist production prevails are more and more becoming proletarians, workers divorced from their means of production, so that they can produce nothing on their own account, and are therefore compelled, if they are not to perish by starvation, to sell their only possession, viz., their labour-power. The majority of the peasants and small traders belong in reality to the proletariat already. What separates them from it in form, their property, is but a thin curtain, hiding, but not preventing, their exploitation and dependence, a curtain lifted and carried away by any strong gust of wind.

On the other side we see a small crowd of property-owners, capitalists and large land-owners, to whom alone belong the most important means of production, the most important sources of sustenance for the entire population, and to whom this exclusive possession gives the possibility and power to make the propertyless workers dependent, and to exploit them.

While the majority of the population is increasingly overwhelmed by want and misery the small crowd of capitalists and large land-owners, together with their parasites, usurp all the enormous advantages arising from the achievements of modern civilisation, and, above all, from the progress made in natural science and its practical application.

Let us take stock of this small crowd of chosen people and inquire into the part they play in economic life and into the consequences for society arising from it.

We have already become acquainted with the three categories of capital, viz.,—merchants' capital, usurers' capital, and industrial capital. The last mentioned category of capital is the youngest, perhaps not so many hundreds as the other two categories are thousands of years old. But the youngest brother has grown more rapidly, much more rapidly, than the older two; he has become a giant who forces them into subjection and presses them into his service.

Commerce is not an absolute necessity for petty enterprise in its perfect (classical) form. The peasant, like the handicraftsman, can obtain the means of production so far as he must purchase them direct from the producer, and he can also sell his product direct to the consumer. Commerce is at this stage of economic development principally of service to luxury, but is on the whole not indispensable to the continuance of production or to the preservation of society.

Capitalist production, however, is, as we have seen, dependent from the beginning upon commerce just as much as commerce at a certain stage needs capitalist production for its further development. The more this production expands, the more it becomes the prevailing mode of production, the more necessary does commerce become to the entire economic life. To-day it is not alone of service to superfluity, to luxury. The whole production, even the feeding of the population of a capitalist country, depends upon commerce proceeding undisturbed in its course. This is one of the reasons why a world-war at present would prove much more devastating than ever before. War leads to a paralysis of commerce, and that means to-day a paralysis of production, and of the entire economic life; it means economic ruin, which extends further and is not less disastrous than the devastation on the battlefield.

Quite as important as the development of commerce has the development of usury become for the capitalist mode of production. The usurer during the domination of petty enterprise was plainly a parasite, who took advantage of the difficulties or prodigality of others and drew their blood. The money he lent to others served, as a rule—as generally the producer already possessed the necessary means of production—for purposes of unproductive expenditure. When, for instance, an aristocrat borrowed money it was to squander it; when a peasant did so it was to pay money taxes or law costs. Lending money at

interest was therefore considered immoral and condemned by everybody.

It is different in society with the capitalist mode of production. Money is now the means for fitting up a capitalist concern and for purchasing and exploiting labour-power. When a business man nowadays borrows money in order to establish a new concern or to extend an existing one, it does not mean (providing, of course, his undertaking succeeds) that he reduces his income by an amount equal to the interest he pays for the borrowed money. On the contrary, that money is used by him to exploit labour-power, hence to increase his income and always by a larger amount than the sum he has to pay away as interest. Usury now loses its original character. Its part as a means of taking advantage of financial difficulties and prodigality gradually gives way to the role of fertilising capitalist production, that is to say, that of making possible a more rapid development than would take place if it were to depend upon the accumulation of capital based on the means of industrial capitalists alone. The abhorrence of the usurer ceases; he is whitewashed and receives the new, high-sounding name, creditor.

The main direction of the movement of interest-bearing capital has at the same time become a different one. The sums of money which the usurer-capitalists amassed in their coffers flowed in former times from the accumulating centres through thousands of channels to the non-capitalists. But to-day the coffers of usury-capital, viz., of credit institutions, have become accumulating centres, to which through thousands of channels the money of the non-capitalists flows in order that it may from there find its way to the capitalists. Credit is to-day, as of old, a means of subjecting non-capitalists with or without property to indebtedness to capital on the basis of interest. But it has now also become a powerful means of transforming into capital the possessions of the different sections of non-capitalists, from the enormous wealth of the Catholic church and the old aristocracy down to the few pence saved by servant girls and day-labourers, that is to say, credit has, by transforming these possessions into capital, changed them into a means of exploiting the one and decomposing the other of these sections. The credit arrangements of to-day, savings banks, etc., are lauded, because, according to the supporters of the present system they transform the saved-up pence of the wage-workers, handicraftsmen and peasants into capital and these persons into "capitalists." But this accumulation of the savings of non-capitalists has no other purpose than to place fresh capital at the disposal of the capitalists and thereby hasten the development of the capitalist mode of production, and we have seen what that means to wage-workers, peasants and craftsmen.

If the credit arrangements of to-day have more and more the effect of transforming the entire possessions of the different sections of non-capitalists into capital, which is placed at the disposal of the capitalist class, they have on the other hand the effect of turning the capital of the capitalist class to better account. They become the accumulating centres of all the money of the individual capitalists, which these have no opportunity of utilising for the time being, and make such sums of money, which would otherwise lie idle, accessible to other capitalists in want of them. They also make it possible to transform commodities into money before these have been sold and to lessen thereby the period of circulation, and also the amount of capital which, for the time being, is required for the carrying on of a concern.

Hence it is that the amount and power of the capital at the disposal of the capitalist class increases enormously. Credit has to-day therefore become one of the most powerful stimulants of capitalist production. Apart from the intense development of machinery and the expansion of the army of unemployed, it is one of the main causes of that power of the present method of production which enables industry upon the slightest impetus to rapidly expand.

But credit is yet by far more susceptible to disturbances than is commerce. And each shock it experiences tells upon the entire economic life.

Some economists have considered credit to be the possible means of turning propertyless persons and those owning little property into capitalists. But, as already indicated by its name, credit depends upon the confidence reposed by the giver of it in the recipient. The more the latter possesses and the greater the security he offers, the greater is

the credit he enjoys. The credit system is hence only the means of obtaining for the capitalists more capital than they possess, the means of increasing the predominance of the capitalists and of accentuating the social contrasts, not of lessening them. The credit system is accordingly not only a means of developing capitalist production more rapidly and of enabling it to utilise favourable fluctuations; it is also a means of hastening the ruin of petty enterprise, and it is finally also a means of making the present mode of production more complicated and more susceptible to disturbances, of also carrying into the midst of the capitalists the feeling of insecurity and of causing the ground on which they stand to vibrate ever more strongly.

2. DIVISION OF LABOUR AND COMPETITION.

While the economic development leads on the one hand to ever closer relations between commerce as well as credit and industry, it has, owing to the increasing division of labour on the other hand, the effect of more and more consigning the various manipulations, for which the capitalist has to arrange in economic life, to separate concerns and undertakings. In times gone by the merchant had not only to buy and sell commodities, but also to collect, to stock and take them to frequently very distant markets; he had also to sort and display the goods, so as to make them accessible to the individual buyers. To-day we have not only the division of labour between small and large trading, but also separate large concerns for the transport and the warehousing of goods (storehouses and elevators); further, at the largest central markets, the exchanges, buying and selling has so much become an occupation of its own, so completely severed from the other functions of the merchant, that not only are goods bought and sold which are still at some remote place, or have not yet been produced, but goods are bought without the intention of being taken into possession, and goods are sold which the seller does not own.

In times gone by a capitalist could not be imagined without a big iron safe, in which he deposited the money coming in and from which he took the money required for making payments. To-day the financial arrangements of the capitalists in the industrially developed countries, especially in England and America, have become the business of separate undertakings—of banks. Payments are no longer made to the capitalist, but to his bank, and are not received from him, but from his bank. And hence a few central concerns deal with the financial transactions of the entire capitalist class of a country.

But if in this way the various functions of the capitalists are consigned to different independent undertakings, they become thereby only outwardly, juridically, independent of each other; economically they remain as before, closely connected with and dependent upon one another. The functions of any one of the concerns cannot proceed with regularity, if the functions of any one of the other concerns, with whom

it stands in business relations, are in any way disturbed.

The more commerce, credit and industry become mutually dependent upon each other, and the more the various functions of the capitalist class fall to separate undertakings, the greater becomes the dependence of the individual capitalists upon the others. The capitalist business of a country—indeed, in certain directions already, of the entire world-market—becomes ever more one tremendous body, whose organs are most closely connected with each other. While the great mass of the population becomes ever more dependent upon the capitalists, the latter themselves become continually more dependent upon each other.

The economic factors of the present mode of production become to an ever larger degree so complicated and sensitive a mechanism that its undisturbed working depends to a continually greater extent upon all the innumerable small cogs of its wheels catching exactly into each other and performing their functions with precision. Never before was there a method of production that so needed regulation according to a plan as the present one. But private property makes it impossible to bring design and order into this system. While the single concerns become economically more dependent upon each other, they remain juridically—from a point of law—dependent of one another. The means of production of each single concern are private property, their owner being able to dispose of them as he may think fit.

As production on a large scale develops, and the larger the single concerns grow, so the economic efforts inside each concern become systematised in accordance with a certain precisely thought out plan in every detail. But the working together of the single concerns is left to the blind forces of free competition. By an enormous waste of energy and means, and by increasingly serious upheavals, this competition manages to keep production going, not by putting everybody in the right place, but by demolishing everybody who stands in its way. That is called "the selection of the fittest in the struggle for existence." In reality free competition annihilates less the incompetent ones than those who are in false places—who are unable to maintain their positions through lack of special ability or perhaps for want of capital. But competition is not satisfied to-day with crushing merely those "unfit for the struggle for existence." The fall of every such an "unfit" one causes the ruin or paralysis of many, who stood in economic relations to the bankrupt concern, such as wage-workers, creditors, contractors, etc. Yet to-day it is said that everyone can shape his own destiny. That notion is derived from the time of petty enterprise, when a workman's prosperity depended upon his own personal qualities—but only his prosperity and that of his family. To-day the destiny of each member of capitalist society depends less and less upon his personality and continually more upon many and various circumstances, over which he himself has no control. It is no longer a selection of the best, which is accomplished to-day by competition.

(To be continued.)

"MUNICIPAL POLITICS."

SUSPICIONS arising as to the genuineness of the following letter, a communication was sent to the address given. It was returned through the post marked "Not known." Though it is unusual to take notice of anonymous correspondence, an exception is made in this case since the matter may be of some interest to our readers.

Jan. 18th, 08.

Socialist Party of Great Britain,

Gentlemen,—In THE SOCIALIST STANDARD for January an article appeared under the heading "Municipal Politics." In regard to a candidate becoming elected to a municipal body you state that he will of course work to wrest from the capitalist class any possible present amelioration although he did not seek suffrages for this, but for Socialism. Since amelioration is of no use whatever to the working class as long as the exploiting class remain in power, why should he waste time on this since he did not seek votes to obtain amelioration, but to bring about Socialism? Also since he was appointed by a class-conscious electorate one would think that they would not expect any reforms to be advocated by him. Hoping to see a reply to this in your next month's issue, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

J. R. SMITH.

409, Oldham Rd., Manchester.

To say, as does our correspondent, that "amelioration of any kind is of no use to the working class so long as the exploiting class remain in power" is entirely absurd. It is saying that an amelioration is at the same time not an amelioration. It implies that the workers if able to obtain a rise in wages should refuse to take it on the ground that it would be of no use to them!

The only point upon which there can be intelligent discussion is, not whether an amelioration is of use, but whether or how any amelioration is obtainable under capitalism; and if Mr. Smith had used the whole and not a half of a sentence he would have seen that the other half states that neither the Socialist member nor his "elect-

ors are under any illusions on this head, for he has made plain how little is to be hoped for from the enemy well entrenched in power."

If Mr. Smith will read the article in question he will see that its whole burden is that any wide-spread or important amelioration is impossible under capitalism, and that to obtain even any partial or temporary benefits that may be obtainable as scraps from the master class, the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is the only effective way. And in this struggle for Socialism the workers will take all they can get, and will use every coign of vantage, not to patch up a rotten system, but to strengthen, educate, and organise the working class army in the task of abolishing capitalist exploitation.

As distinct from the reformers who adapt themselves to bourgeois interests, the Socialists must always—as stated in the article—formulate working-class interests, and so make clearer in contrast with capitalist interests the polar antagonism that exists and which can only be dissolved by Socialism. Nothing can be considered by a Socialist as being in working class interests that helps to perpetuate a system of oppression, but everything will be welcomed that can be used effectively as a weapon by the Socialist army in ending the capitalist system.

When the Socialist workers control a municipal council, are they, as according to Mr. Smith, to do nothing because they cannot do all? Limited though the local powers are, yet, obviously, they must be used to the utmost. It would, indeed, be folly to contest a local election if the workers were not prepared when in a majority to use the organisation of the municipality as a base of operations in the revolutionary struggle, by aiding and strengthening the workers in revolt against the system. While to refrain from using the electoral machinery where such can be of use to the Socialist workers would be treachery.

Social reformers seek votes in order to patch up the present system, but the Socialist seeks only the conscious co-operation of the workers for its abolition. Hence with the Socialist all else is subordinate to this end, and is only of use in so far as it is a means thereto. By revolution alone can permanent and substantial

benefit accrue to the workers. Consequently, even for substantial and lasting amelioration, the first and essential step is, as stated in the article to which Mr. Smith refers, "the control by the workers nationally and locally, and this must be made plain; and when the workers are the ruling class, lists of reforms suited to the continuance of capitalism become stupid, and entirely different revolutionary measures of transition become the order of the day. Thus reform programmes not only scatter and render mutually antagonistic the workers' efforts, but they obscure and prevent concentration upon the essential step."

So, Mr. Smith, we do not advocate reforms.

We may, then, conclude by further quoting for our correspondent's benefit from the article in question, whose contents he seems to have unaccountably overlooked:

"It must, therefore, be clearly understood, (1st) that any reform worthy the name from a working-class standpoint involves the conscious taking from the capitalist class of, at least, part of the power and proceeds of robbery, and thus genuine reform is conditional on working-class supremacy. (2nd) That to wield in the workers' interest even the limited and paltry powers allowed by the central government to the local bodies it is first necessary to control the local bodies by a Socialist majority."

"Consequently to promise 'immediate reforms' that cannot be granted until the revolutionary step has been taken leads to confusion, disappointment and apathy, while it means a vote worthless for Socialism followed by desertion. But to insist upon the futility of reform, and the primary necessity of capturing political power, means a sound vote, a solid backing, and a sure and steady growth of the class-conscious and revolutionary army."

And that, Mr. Smith, is why we do not advocate reforms. F.C.W.

The House has ceased to be frightened by the bogey of Government antagonism to railways since the President of the Board of Trade showed himself so keenly alive to their interests at the time of the great labour trouble.

Daily Chronicle, Feb. 13.

THE CASE OF PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

THE Labour member for Blackburn, like others who came to the front at the general election, strives to add to his income, (a paltry £200 a year with an extra £25 now and again) by lecturing at high fees, and by writing articles to suit the purposes of the millionaire proprietors of the trusted Press.

In the course of his peregrinations he has run up against members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and in our last number we briefly recorded that our Manchester comrades had forwarded to Mr. Snowden particulars of compacts made between I.L.P. candidates and Liberals, with special reference to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. James Parker.

Mr. Philip Snowden replied as follows:

(Copy.)

10, Baron's Court Road,
West Kensington, W.
Jan. 23, '08.

Dear Sir,—There is nothing at all in all you say which gives any proof of an alliance or understanding. Your extracts simply prove what everybody knows, namely, that in the absence of a second Liberal the Liberal electors voted against the Tory.—Yrs very truly,
(Signed) PHILIP SNOWDEN.

Now what do we say?

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was adopted as the Labour candidate for Leicester, at a meeting held at the Temperance Hall on Jan. 5th, 1906. In the course of his speech he said that the trade union section, and that practically comprehended the whole of the movement, said that in connection with this election they must vote so that all votes in the House of Commons they could influence would be cast in favour of the up-setting of the Taff Vale judgment. They said the danger of Protection to the wage earners was so great and so pressing that they must fight and kill Protection, and so, after full discussion, their local Labour Representation Committee came to the decision, and he was empowered to communicate it to them that night, that on no account was it going to ask them to plump on Monday week (cheers), and their Trades Council came to the decision the other night to advise every working man, and everybody who was influenced by the Labour movement, to use both their votes, to give one to Mr. Broadhurst and the other to himself (loud cheers).

Councillor Hill proposed the resolution in support and asked every Progressive elector to use his two votes solid for progress and the advancement of Labour.

Alderman Wood, president of the Liberal Association, seconded. He said that his friends had decided not only to run one candidate, but they were going to take off their coats and work not only for the return of their candidate, but also of their good friend, Mr. MacDonald. Let them all work hard and vote for both the Progressive candidates, and then he should be confident of the result.

Mr. Snowden may find a full report of this meeting in the Leicester Daily Post of January 6th, 1906, headed—

THE BOROUGH ELECTION.

LABOUR CAMPAIGN OPEN.

BRILLIANT SPEECH BY MR. J. R. MACDONALD.

UNITY WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY.

PROTECTION MUST BE KILLED.

Undoubtedly it was a brilliant speech, from a Liberal point of view.

The Leicester correspondent of the London Daily News, on January 15th, 1906, said, "Mr. Broadhurst and Mr. MacDonald, although on separate platforms, are urging that electors should not plump, but allocate their votes to the two Progressives." Only by accident, of course, Mr. Snowden, there was no "understanding."

In the Leicester Daily Post for January 16th, 1906, further speeches may be found. The polling took place on the previous day. The following is a reprint from the article "Labour at

the Polls" which appeared in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, March, 1906:—

After the poll was declared a meeting was held at the Liberal Club, at which Ald. Wood congratulated them upon their magnificent victory. He was proud of the Liberals of Leicester, proud of the Labour Party of Leicester and of the unity of action which had brought about that great triumph. Mr. Henry Broadhurst said that Labour and Liberalism had known no difference, as shown by the extraordinary equality of votes between Mr. MacDonald and himself. That is what they did when they had trust in each other. There was one man who had made that grand result possible, and that was Alderman Wood, but for whose years of devotion to unity they might have been a divided people again. Three cheers were given for Ald. Wood.

At the same time a meeting was being held by the Labour Party. Councillor Banton, in opening, said the Liberals had polled with them (cheers) and they reciprocated the fight side by side (loud cheers). Mr. MacDonald said there had been one very significant fact about the contest. Practically every voter of the 14,000 had polled Broadhurst and MacDonald (cheers). The plumping had been insignificant, and consequently—(Voices: "Three cheers for MacDonald and Broadhurst.")—he wanted to read the following message to them: "I wish you to give my hearty congratulations to the Labour Party on the Progressive victory at Leicester to-day. (Signed) Ald. Wood." (Voices: "Three cheers for Ald. Wood," which were heartily given). The Alderman had told him that he would be 67 years of age to-morrow. They had given him a magnificent birthday present (cheers). Let them be perfectly clear. The Mercury had said that the two parties—Liberal and Labour—had been occupying quite independent positions during the whole of the contest, but owing to the great crises that the late government had brought upon this country—the crisis to Trade Unionism and the crisis to Industry—they had, upon those specific and definite points, co-operated for the purpose of killing the late government, and preventing things going from bad to worse.

If no alliance existed, no "understanding" was arrived at, when these two parties—Liberal and Labour—"co-operated for the purpose of killing the late Government," we have yet to learn what an alliance or "understanding" is.

With regard to Halifax, we said in March 1906:—

At Halifax Mr. Parker openly advised his supporters to give one vote to the Liberal. The defeat of the Tory, said the Halifax Guardian, was entirely due to the alliance between the Liberal and Socialist Parties, which had occurred for the first time in the political history of Halifax. The figures showed unmistakably that the combination had held good, that Liberal votes by the thousand went for Socialism, and that Socialism reciprocated this support to the fullest extent of its power.

The Guardian, however, is a bit out in calling it a victory for Socialism. Even Mr. Parker only claimed "that the result had shown that Halifax at heart was in favour of progress." At the Oddfellows' Hall Mr. M. J. Blatchford said, after speeches from Mr. Parker and others, the result showed that the arrangement made by the Liberals had been honestly carried out by both parties. It had been a magnificent display of confidence. Nothing could be more splendid than the confidence each party had shown in the other. He was entirely satisfied that the Labour Party and the Liberal Party had done what they had undertaken to do and he thought both sides might be proud of it (cheers).

And Mr. Snowden says that Mr. M. J. Blatchford's words do not prove the existence of any alliance or undertaking! What would prove it to Mr. Snowden?

In November last we referred to Mr. Parker as having "made a compact with the Liberal Party to secure election," and Mr. Parker wrote to us to dispute a certain statement made concerning him in the same article, but did not deny the truth of this particular one. But Mr. Snowden rushes in where Mr. Parker feared to tread.

The member for Blackburn says that what happened was that, in the absence of a second Liberal, the Liberal electors voted against the Tory! But if the votes polled were merely anti-Tory votes, what becomes of Mr. Bruce Glasier's arithmetic in the Labour Leader of April 26th last?

In the Smethwick Telephone for February 8th, appeared a column, which doubtless also saw the light in many another local journal, headed: "From Labour's Standpoint, by Philip Snowden, M.P.," in the course of which he says:—

There is one great omission in the King's Speech. There is no reference to the question of unemployment. It is amazing that a Government professing the zeal for Social Reform which carried this Government into power should ignore the acuteness and urgency of this matter. . . . The appointment of Mr. John Burns to the control of the department responsible for this work, a man who had himself

known the want of food through unemployment, strengthened the hope that a sympathetic treatment of the problem would be adopted.

Is Mr. Snowden simple or is he merely playing the game? We must incline to the latter view. What Socialist could expect a capitalist Government to recognise "the acuteness and urgency of the matter of unemployment" from the viewpoint of the unemployed? A reserve army of labour is necessary to capitalism; the problem therefore will only become acute and urgent when that reserve army, assisted by those in employment, becomes dangerous, and that period, thanks largely to the tactics of Mr. Snowden and his friends, is a long way off. What Socialist regarded the appointment of Mr. John Burns as any promise of sympathetic treatment of the problem? His appointment was a clever, very clever move of the Liberals. Burns understands Socialism, and was appointed as a foil. The Labour members are either envious of Burns or afraid of him,—probably both. He knows that their precious Unemployment Bill is a fraud, and has probably told them so, has sneeringly pointed out to them, say behind the Speaker's chair, that if they are Socialists they cannot support their own Bill, with its monstrosity of a penal clause. Mr. Snowden complains that in the debate on the Labour Party's amendment to the Address, John Burns—

adopted an offensive attitude from the first. He had no justification for such a course. He followed almost immediately after myself and I had taken special pains to be friendly and sympathetic, and to recognise and admit the difficulties of his position.

As if John Burns wants the sympathy of Mr. Snowden and his friends! Of course his attitude was offensive, and it will be until the Labour Party make up their mind (if they have one) to fight him and the master class whose interests he so ably serves.

Mr. Snowden continued:—

A Labour Party in Parliament which remained quiet while men and women and children were starving outside would merit the condemnation of the country.

Heavens! think of it! All the time that there has been a Labour Party in the House, men, women, and children have been starving outside. And the Labour Party has been quiet, damnably quiet. It has boasted of its "sensitivity, respectability, and adaptability"; its fighting men have taken a turn on the terrace when they wanted to say that wicked word "damn"; it has moved the adjournment of the House to draw attention to the shooting of natives in Natal, but behaved with Christlike meekness over the shooting of workers at Belfast; it has boasted of its connection with the Nonconformist humbugs and canted in P.S.A. pulpits, appealing for charity for the Hensworth colliers (who have now been locked out for 171 weeks) when it should have been denouncing these people for supporting a system and a government which make such things possible; it has expressed its gratification at the references in the King's Speech to the Congo and Macedonia when it should have been raising hell over the condition of the people here at home; it has attended Royal Garden Parties and told funny tales concerning the working "classes" to "Dooks" when it should have been organising the workers for the Social Revolution.

The Labour Party does "merit the condemnation of the country"!

J.K.

GRAYSON'S GRATITUDE TO THE S.D.F.

In the course of the Joynson-Hicks-Grayson debate in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on February 14th, Mr. Victor Grayson, M.P., in immaculate evening dress (which we suppose is typical of his revolutionary views), said: "It would have given me pleasure in to-night's debate had Mr. Joynson-Hicks, instead of reading the esoteric philosophic ramblings of the philosopher, Mr. Belfort Bax, instead of going to the exotics of Karl Marx, if he had come to the source of English Socialism, the books of the English economists, to learn what the Socialist suggestion really is."

We are anxious to know what the S.D.F. think of that, in view of their efforts to pat him on the back and take him under their wing, as recorded in the columns of Justice, since it was apparent that he could command a following.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard.

SUNDAY, MAR. 1, 1908.



Nationalisation not Socialism.

SOME of our avowed opponents seem to have a clearer grasp of the situation than many calling themselves Socialists. Thus, whilst numbers of the latter, up and down the country, advocate the nationalisation of this and the municipalisation of that as "stepping stones to Socialism," the *Daily News* insists that, so far as any rate as railways are concerned, the opposite is the case. Commenting in its issue of February 12th upon the debate of the previous day in the House of Commons, it pointed out that the ruling classes of Prussia (where the railways are State property) know very well that partial nationalisation in no sense makes for Socialism, but on the contrary, when all the rest of industry remains upon the individualist plane it strengthens the existing system of Society by making it more prosperous, the balance of benefit going, in all probability, to the capitalist owners of the mines and the factories. There is, in short, it added, no large issue of principle at stake. The proposal is simply one for the more intelligent organisation of the existing system of production and distribution. A day later the *Daily Chronicle* wrote in a similar strain.

The view thus expressed not only represents the opinion of the Cadburys but of other equally farsighted capitalists who advocate improvements and modifications of existing methods because they recognise that their particular interests will be served by such alterations. They do not, of course, desire to interfere with the basis of capitalist industry, but to secure the removal of obstacles which prevent the full development of their businesses, obstacles placed in their way by other sections of their class. That they should be assisted in their efforts to strengthen the existing system of Society by well-meaning but short-sighted persons who claim to be out for the abolition of the very system of Society they are strengthening, in a very large measure accounts for the slow progress of the revolutionary movement.

Socialism or Palliated Capitalism?

Great has been the abuse levelled against The Socialist Party of Great Britain because of the fact that from its inception it has steadfastly set itself against the advocacy of palliatives or improvements that "strengthen the existing system of Society." No other party in this country occupies a similar position, and many who were once opposed to it on this particular point have been converted to its views. To those who still persist in such advocacy let us ask: "What are you out for?" Some will probably reply: "We are out for Socialism, but we know the working class cannot understand and struggle for Socialism until they are better fed and better housed than at present." And so they concentrate on feeding, housing, etc. If there were evidence to show that all well-fed

and well-housed workers were in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, one could understand their attitude. But there is none. Does it follow that those who throw off the shackles of religion, or who secure a "clear head" by giving up alcoholic liquors become Socialists? No, in very many cases they are pronounced anti-Socialists. And is the study of Socialism taken up and revolutionary change advocated by the well-fed domestics and flunkies or by those whose efficiency as wage-slaves is studied by such "model" employers as the Cadburys, Levers, and the like? There is no more justification in arguing that the working class must be well fed, well clothed and decently housed before they can understand and organise for Socialism than there is for the opposite attitude that it is necessary to starve and grind them down before any real consciousness of their position and determination to alter it will possess them.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents must be brief. Communications must be authenticated by name and address of writer and written on one side of the paper only. The writers only are responsible for the views expressed.

TO THE EDITOR.

33, Albany Street,
Beauwick, M/c.
Feb. 5, 08.

Dear Sir,—Mr. J. Brough issues, through the February No. of your paper, a direct challenge to me, and one it may be worth while to accept. I shall perhaps be able to throw some light on the methods of the S.P.G.B.

The author of this challenge ends his letter by asking "What has Mr. Swan to say now?" Exactly what I said before. The statement that a compact was entered into by the local L.R.C. and the Liberals at the last general election is a deliberate lie? It was a lie when Mr. Brough first made it, and it is a lie still. In addition I would like to point out that apart from the *Courier* extract, concerning which I will have something to say later, Mr. Brough has not brought forward one scrap of evidence in support of his charge. The letters from the *Clarion* will not bear the construction he has placed upon them. He has read into them something they do not contain.

Mr. Brough bases his case upon the fact that the L.R.C. and the East Manchester I.L.P. declared that a candidate in East Manchester would damage Clynes in North East, and Kelley in South West Manchester. That such was their opinion has never been denied, but has been freely and frequently admitted. Such an admission, however, is not tantamount to an acknowledgement that a compact was made by the L.R.C. and the Liberal Party. To assert that it is, is to quote Mr. Brough, to "use words for a purpose different to that in which words are generally understood."

Mr. Brough explains very carefully what is meant by the word "compact," and thereby places himself at my mercy. A "compact" is a mutual agreement, or contract, etc., etc. Very good. Now a compact is only possible when there are two, or more, parties to it, and can only be arrived at as the result, the outcome, of certain verbal or written communications. If there is no communication there can be no compact. That either verbal or written communications passed between the L.R.C. and the Liberals I emphatically deny. And if I am speaking the truth Mr. Brough's precious "compact" falls demolished about his ears.

But why waste ink? Mr. Brough may test the truth, or untruth, of my words quite easily. The Trades Union connected with his occupation sends several delegates to the L.R.C., one of whom is upon the executive of that body. Let Mr. Brough, through these delegates, have the question brought up; let him demand the facts. I will undertake to back up his efforts. And if, after this course has been adopted, it can be proved that I have tried to mislead Mr. Brough, I promise to publicly apologise to him for having done so. This is a perfectly fair proposition, and a reasonable one. Let Mr. Brough act upon it.

Now a few words in reference to the extract from the *Manchester Courier*. If what I have stated above is true, it follows that the statement contained in this extract is as false as that made by Mr. Brough. They are both to the same effect; they stand or fall together. The fact is the *Courier* man knows no more, and he could not know less, about the matter under discussion than Mr. Brough himself. And I submit that a Socialist who goes to the Tory or Liberal Press for information concerning other Socialists, and uses this information without ever trying to verify it is playing very low indeed. Tories and Liberals alike are interested in circulating lies about us. And if you repeat these lies you are doing their work whether you are paid for it or not.

Mind you, I do not dispute the right of Mr. Brough, or anyone else, to criticise me, or the organisation to which I belong. But criticism to be of any value must be prompted by a desire to see truth prevail, not by stupid pugnacity; it must be based upon fact, not wild assumption; and must be the outcome of knowledge, not of ignorance. If the S.P.G.B. will confine itself to criticism of the former, and leave the latter kind to our mutual foes it will fulfil a useful function; if it does not it will remain a mere adjunct of the capitalist parties.—Yours etc.,

TOM SWAN.

77, Nightingale Lane,
Hornsey, N.
10th Feb., '08.

Dear Comrade,

I.L.P. COMPACTS IN MANCHESTER, ETC.

Although I am not quite sure that the word "compact" is correctly used in this connection, it is undoubtedly true that there was a tacit understanding in I.L.P. and L.R.C. circles in Manchester prior to the last General Election, that if either of these bodies promoted any more candidatures in Manchester, (with particular reference to East Manchester division), the Liberals would oppose Messrs. Clynes and Kelley in their respective divisions. This was an open secret at the time, and plainly means that Messrs. Clynes and Kelley angled for, and actually received, Liberal support, of course for "value received" elsewhere.

With regard to your reference to Mr. G. D. Kelley, M.P., in the leading article in February issue of the *STANDARD*, I should like to say that there is not much point in your remarks about this gentleman stating that he is not a Socialist. Throughout his public career, as a secretary of his Trades Union, as secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, and also as a member of the Manchester City Council, he has been a consistent Liberal; no man showed more bitter hostility to the local I.L.P. during the time that Party upheld their famous "Fourth Clause" of independence. Therefore I submit that although he became "converted" to "Independent" Labourism just as soon as he saw a chance of sailing into the House of Commons under those colours, like the remainder of the so-called Labour Party, yet unlike most of that kidney, he is an open and not a secret opponent of Socialism, inasmuch as he never once has denied or even attempted to cover up his Liberalism. Any Manchester employer of labour in the printing trade will vouch for the harmlessness and respectability of Mr. G. D. Kelley, M.P., especially those who came in contact with him as secretary of his Union.—Yours fraternally,

W. EVANS.

The adjourned debate at the S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Rd., Ilford, on Feb. 2nd was "funkt" by the members of the Ilford Socialist Party, although the date was fixed to suit their convenience. Only three attended, one of whom declared that he didn't see they could do any more than agree upon general principles and then allow the members liberty of action! Since then, one of the I.S.P. leaders, Mr. S. H. Sweetman, has publicly supported the candidature of Mr. W. P. Griggs, a local Conservative, for the Cranbrook Ward of Ilford, moving the resolution of confidence at a public meeting held at Cranbrook College on February 4th!

Mr. Sweetman may be remembered as having once occupied a seat as a "Socialist" on the West Ham Town Council.

CAN A SOCIALIST BE A CHRISTIAN?

[SOCIALISM, ATHEISM, AND CHRISTIANITY. By C. Cohen. London: The Pioneer Press, 2, New-castle St., E.C. 16 pp., 1d.

MR. COHEN does not take up the cudgels on behalf of Socialism. His position is simply that "Socialism is fundamentally Atheistic in the sense that it is without the belief in God." That Socialism traces all the phenomena with which it concerns itself to natural causes, and relies on purely secular forces for its realisation; while "Christianity cannot combine with any system in which the belief in God does not rank as an essential feature."

And there is good ground for this. If such a person as a consistent Christian ever existed, he could only regard this "vale of tears" as an essential part of God's plan, to be accounted for only through God, and to be modified only through His pleasure. He could only regard those who sought the explanation of social conditions in purely natural causes, to the tacit exclusion of God, and also sought to take advantage of the natural development in order to turn this "vale of tears" into a pleasant garden, as men who denied by their acts the very basis of his faith.

Socialism is the application of science to the relations between men, and will infallibly drive superstition from this its last ditch. Socialism, as the science of Society, is an essential part of a scientific view of all phenomena regarded as an interdependent whole; and such a Monistic view of the universe, with each part in inseparable causal relation to the rest, can leave no nook or cranny for God.

The consistent Socialist, therefore, cannot be a Christian, and although (as Mr. Cohen justly complains) many "Socialists" keep their views on religion in the background in the belief that it is irrelevant to their propaganda, yet that Socialism implies the rejection of superstition cannot be disputed.

Our author, however, has come across the "Labour" politician angling for middle-class votes, and uses his cudgels to some effect in belabouring such pandars to the cant and hypocrisy known as the "Nonconformist Conscience." In this scramble for votes it has been said that Socialism is profoundly religious! And Mr. Cohen quotes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's statement that the Socialist finds in the Gospels "a marvellous support for his economic and political proposals." This and other statements by the same shifty politician are effectively riddled in the pamphlet under review.

Nor has Mr. Cohen failed to indicate the material basis of the religious ardour that has infected many Labour M.P.'s. Commenting upon a passage of a work by Mr. MacDonald, our author says—

The striking thing about this passage is its almost abominably party political character. At present the Parliamentary Labour Party is in a state of pseudo-alliance with a Liberal Government that relies on Nonconformists. Many Nonconformists are also—since the return of thirty Labour M.P.'s—patronising "Socialism" and professing it from the pulpit. For these reasons Mr. MacDonald leaves the Bible—the Nonconformist fetish—alone, while attacking the Prayer Book. . . . It is texts and quotations from the Prayer Book that were used—as though texts and quotations from the Bible were not used as frequently, and as though plenty of texts might not be quoted from the New Testament as to the blessings of poverty, the virtues of non-resistance, the lawfulness of slavery, and the duty of obeying constituted authority, with a threat of damnation against all in rebellion. In the same way, it is the Established Church parson who is singled out for attack, while the middle-class manufacturer, with his mouthpiece, the Nonconformist minister, escapes scot free. Yet all Socialists are aware that it is from this class that the greatest enemies of Socialism have been drawn.

Nothing, indeed, is more typically middle class than Nonconformity, and the servile truckling to that section, characteristic of certain Labour candidates, has already been commented upon by other writers in these columns. No P.S.A. is nowadays complete without a Labour M.P. on show. And in the present connection, the mere fact that the falsely so-called "Socialism" of the Labour M.P.'s is acceptable to large sections of the reactionary Nonconformist

middle class, is in itself sufficient to prove its incompatibility with working-class interests rightly understood.

The religious appeal betrays the shoddy politician. To attempt to stir the workers into an electoral activity by the disinterment of decomposing religious sentiment is to play the game of the enemy. Those whose standpoint is that of the welfare of the working class can make no appeal on grounds of religion; for religion is an instrument of domination which cannot be used as an agent of emancipation at this stage of social development. The great theoretic weapon of the workers in their fight for emancipation is science, not religion; and religion and science are as incompatible as fire and water.

The working class, moreover, though not as yet hostile to religion, are nevertheless becoming increasingly indifferent to it. This is so partly because the workers never find religion, when put to the test, to be on their side. It is also and chiefly due to the fact that the workers are daily in contact with the hard realities of life; and, in spite of their lack of learning, the mass of them find little basis for belief in divine interference, and little reason for doubting that the inevitable warp and woof of cause and effect seen in all industrial processes extends unrelentingly over the whole universe. The worker learns in the factory that the most awful natural forces are regular, explicable, and controllable; while the feelings of helplessness before natural forces, and the obscurity and incomprehensibility of these to man, recede before the lessons of man-made productive forces rivalling nature in their giant strength and rational complexity. In technical processes all is reduced to system based on belief in the uninterrupted sequence of cause and effect, and all mysteries are made to yield to persistent effort. Upon such a foundation religion cannot firmly stand. As Lafargue says: "the practice of a modern factory teaches scientific determinism to the wage-worker without him having to pass through the theoretic study of the sciences."

Nature, indeed, appears ruthless, inevitable, and cruelly precise to the workers, and their materialistic experience of life provides a less and less fertile soil for superstition.

And the worker who becomes a Socialist finds there also a belief in the supernatural logically excluded. He discovers that the study of man and Society is, in effect, a branch of natural history.

Nor is there hope for religion in the future. The matter has been put in a nutshell. In the deeply philosophical chapter on "Commodities" in "Capital," Marx says:—

"The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to nature."

"The life process of Society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan."

"This, however, demands for Society a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development."

From this it becomes obvious that Mr. Cohen's position is completely justified when he maintains, in opposition to Mr. J. R. MacDonald, that such a great social change as Socialism must profoundly affect religious beliefs.

The natural history of religion is a deeply interesting subject, for the association of certain phases of religion with certain political interests is by no means accidental. Doubtless this aspect of the matter did not come within the plan of the pamphlet, while the tail end of a review is no place for the discussion of so big a theme. The general principles of the religious reflex of social life are, however, easily grasped in the light of the Marx-Morgan conception of Society, while occasion may be had to revert in

greater detail to this aspect of the subject at a later date.

As a belief, religion is a manifestation of man's ignorance of Nature's working, and of the mastery which the uncomprehended natural and social forces have over man. As rites and ceremonies it is a legacy of the relatively changeless forms of ancient society, and of the supreme importance of mysterious and venerable custom to the existence of the primitive community. By the inertia of the mind religion tends to live on through newer conditions in so far as it serves some interest. So the successive modifications of religion have been the reflexes of changed conditions and interests, although it has ever been attempted to pour the new wine into the old bottles.

This evolution of religion, if such it may be called, is curious in that it is an evolution into thin air. Religious change has usually been more remarkable in what was abandoned than in what was added or retained; and religion from being inextricably bound up with the whole social life of a people, becomes a more and more insignificant reflex of the remaining dark corners of that life.

In primitive societies the non-observance of the ancient, sacred, and mysterious customs meant the break up of social life. What was old was tried, venerated and holy; what was new meant disorder and strife. The innovator was slain. In modern society the methods of producing the means of life are no longer invariable and upon ancient model and precedent, but are in process of great and continued change. What is old is now often synonymous with antiquated, outworn and useless; what is new is hailed as advance and improvement, and novelty is always in demand. The inventor is less frequently slain. Following lamely after this change the old religious forms crumble slowly and tardily away in spite of the frantic efforts of the priestly interest at restoration or readaptation.

As Mr. Cohen points out vigorously and clearly in the concluding portion of his pamphlet, Christianity has ever been the tool of rapacity and tyranny. From the dawn of civilisation religion has been a weapon of political domination.

But to continue to be so used, religion must retain a hold upon the people, and if the capitalist class institute secular education it will only be because the growing irreligion of the proletariat compels the master class to rely solely on their other instruments of domination over the workers. But that time is not yet.

To abolish religion is not to end exploitation. The workers have, above all, to dislodge the exploiting class from power, and all else is secondary to this. Not that it is sought to belittle the specifically anti-religious fight, for many a Socialist has received from the actively materialist propaganda of the secularists the spark that brightened later into an illuminating, scientific light upon Society and led him to Socialism.

The supreme aim of the workers, however, must be their emancipation from wage-slavery, and the fight against superstition is but one phase of this great fight. But it must never be forgotten that since religion is ever used as a weapon by the ruling class against the workers, no Socialist in the struggle for working class emancipation can honestly avoid the religious conflict.

F.C.W.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE S.P.G.B.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the S.P.G.B. will be held on Friday and Saturday, April 17th and 18th, 1908, at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, London, W.C. All Branches should send their full quota of delegates; while members generally should make a point of attending. The outside public will also be admitted.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE SECRET OF MARX.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE AUTHOR OF "THE SECRET OF HERBERT."

DEAR Dr. Hayward,

Your book, "The Secret of Herbert," must impress everyone who reads it with the feeling that you are earnestly endeavouring to do something beyond what you are primarily expected to do by your employers, viz., apply the screw to the "captains and guides of the democracy" in order that they shall the better grind out of the school mill more efficient wage-slaves as exploitation material for the class which laughs up its sleeve at your misdirected efforts to bring about the millennium by Dickens-readings and the generous administration of chunks of "apperception" stuff. But at the same time we feel impelled to point out to you that your book is

AN UNCONSCIOUS FRAUD.

The "secret" which you set out to discover to a grateful public, and the knowledge of which shall add stature to those who are wallowing in your "professional gutter," is so "portentous" that, at the finish, it whittles down to what looks uncommonly like an 80 pp. puff of books advertised on the cover. Where the "priceless biographies of the Bible," let alone the lives of Curtius and Livingstone have failed, can your pinchbeck "hero of the situation" with his "Book of Moral Lessons" effect the desired alteration?

But let us come to close grips. You aim at a better state of Society. Good. "Education" so far has failed. Granted,—from your point of view, and from ours too. But it has succeeded admirably in serving the purpose for which it was intended, and is intended, by the framers of "codes," past and present. Have you read a soul-inspiring work, "German Schools," by one of your late colleagues? In that mass of pseudo-scientific collation of facts, and of inane inconsequentialities, two observations stand out which typify the trend of thought of the average "educationalist" who is hired by the capitalist class to help to bolster up a system which it is beginning to feel, in spite of its Caliban-like mental outlook, has already taken a decided cant in a direction which inspires him with deep misgivings.

The writer of the work in question notes with deep satisfaction on that arithmetic is most successfully taught in Hamburg, and has no doubt that this is owing to the stress laid on the subject by the merchants of that city. What kind of a "circle of ideas" does the mind of

THIS VERY PETTY BOURGEOIS

run in? This man had "charge" of L.C.C. schools once, Doctor. He derived immense satisfaction on one occasion from the fact that poor little mites of seven to nine years old were somewhat hazy as to which was "subject" and which was "predicate" in the sentence "I saw a man running round a rock." It evinced such high scholarship, such acuteness to discover that the infantile mind is unable to grapple with the niceties of a subject which may be safely ignored by the cultured man, and is the sheerest futility to "teach" to children.

The other observation is that with regard to the massing of children, and their devout rendering of a German national song. This picker-up of peddling trifles, whose whole vision seems obsessed by "average sums right," "average mistakes," waxes as eloquent as his very "practical" mind will allow him. He says:

The commemorative gathering (Sedan-Day) was held in the large hall of the school. A long address was read, after which recitations alternated with songs of a patriotic kind. . . . The impression made upon me was profound—a pious assembly met in a God-fearing way to celebrate their great triumph. With such a people it would be much to be friends, it would be disquieting to have them for enemies.

You see the point? Good arithmetic—better clerks; patriotic ritual—obedient wage-slaves, quiet, docile animals who would not, could not, be guilty of lese majesté, under no conditions whatever would read Marx and Engels, but who should thank God that they were only pelted with hard speeches instead of harder bullets, and should join their English fellow-workers in striving to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters.

This view, judging from your work "The Secret of Herbert," is not satisfactory to you. I hope it is not too personal to observe that, in

Your official capacity, you must feel like the proverbial fish out of water. You are seeking to penetrate, not only the "impenetrable carapace" of the Blatchfordian gin-drinking wastrel, but incidentally the equally "impenetrable carapace" which officialdom invariably assumes. Has it ever struck you that possibly

BOTH ARE TWIN MONSTERS

born of the same hideous mother—foul, unholy capitalism. Has it ever occurred to you that the "circle of ideas" can only revolve in a

MATERIAL FRAMEWORK.

You occasionally glimpse the position. You say "Lust and brutality are generated as certainly as scrophula or typhus." They are. Typhus and scrophula are the outcome of certain conditions. The merry typhus germ may career around for all time, as far as we know, without doing any damage until it finds *suitable soil*. Unhealthy surroundings are an absolute necessity for the fell work of the typhus germ.—the fetid atmosphere generated by capitalist society is peculiarly adapted for the growth of "lust and brutality." Social relations determine the prevalence of typhus and scrophula,—no less do social relations determine the prevalence of "lust and brutality." And here we come full on the

SECRET OF MARX,

beside which the alleged "Secret of Herbert" stands abashed. That secret is

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

The highest philanthropic and missionary work, you say, is that which seeks to "implant wholesome interests." Allow me, my dear Doctor, to introduce you to the

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

which is seeking to implant the most wholesome interest a worker can have, namely, interest in himself as a unit of a slave class, interest in seeking to learn the genesis of that class, interest in seeking methods to remove the cause of his slavery. Can you ask higher? What greater service can you render to a slave than to make him feel his position keenly (to be "class-conscious"), to point out the origin of his enslavement, and to show him the only road to his salvation? If "apperception" be "the process of interpreting some new fact or experience by means of our previous knowledge," then the Socialist Party of Great Britain may lay claim to be the only true disciples of Herbert to-day. The "new fact" of wage-slavery we interpret in the light of the "previous knowledge" appertaining to the growth of private property in the means of life; sin, morality, and a thousand other abstractions we insistently seek in material causes. While your "educationalists" are puffing about "faculty doctrines," etc., while your sociologist is "tabulating the causes of poverty," the Socialist Party of Great Britain is proclaiming aloud the one cause of poverty—capitalism—and is educating the worker in the only "doctrine" which will "implant wholesome interests," the doctrine that the emancipation of the working class must be the

WORK OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF.

"Realising that, as in the order of social evolution, the working class is the last class to be emancipated, the emancipation of the working class will involve abolition of all class distinctions and class privileges and free humanity from oppression of every kind, the Socialist Party of Great Britain enters the political arena, in full faith that the members of our class will work out

THEIR HISTORIC MISSION,

hurls defiance at all forces of reaction. Generated by capitalist society, heir to the slavery of ages, outcast of civilisation, the working class will prove a fitting instrument of the movement of history, and by the brain and sinew of Labour will arise the Socialist Commonwealth, a society wherein poverty, privilege and oppression will find no place, and wherein all may lead a full, free, and joyous existence."

Will you come and help? Does our position demand attention? What do you think of the "Secret of Marx"? "Recondite?" May be. "Portentous?" Aye, verily.

A. REGINALD.

A LOOK ROUND.

Who are the "impossibilists"?

At the Central Hall of the Social Democratic Federation Mr. Herbert Burrows has been tearing up the Programme of the S.D.F., pointing out that it contains contradictory proposals and also wants boiling down. Many of the changes demanded should not be included in the list of immediate reforms and others are not Socialist at all! Moreover, he entirely disbelieves in the establishment of a National Citizen Force. The S.D.F., then, which claims to be out to unite the working class, has not yet even united itself upon the means to be employed to unite them.

An elevating sight was witnessed last month. Mr. H. M. Hyndman publicly trounced his "comrade" Will Thorne, M.P. On January 31st at the Holborn Town Hall Mr. Hyndman declared that it was an absolute disgrace that the Labour Party in the House of Commons took no more vigorous action in the Unemployed Debate. John Burns should have been denounced as a traitor of the foulest and most loathsome type. Someone should have got up on the floor of the House and insulted him.

How very Hyndmaniac! And yet since Burns became a "traitor," the S.D.F., with Mr. Hyndman's consent and largely upon his advice, supported his candidature for Parliament, and prominent members canvassed for him.

W. Thorne is a member of the Labour Party in the House, and also a member of the S.D.F. He is therefore included in Mr. Hyndman's public condemnation. Verily, the "father of English Social Democracy" gives it "hot" to some of his offspring at times.

Hyndman is most unfair to Thorne. He knows his position and the extent to which he is bound to his Union. The S.D.F. would have been more manly had they expelled Thorne years ago for breaking their rules by supporting Liberal candidates, as he has done on so many occasions. It would have been better for the S.D.F. and also for Thorne. Instead of which they have assisted him into an untenable position and now publicly denounce him for his inaction.

Thorne is no doubt doing his best. On February 13th he brought in a Bill defining luggage on railways with regard to bicycles. Thus the revolution proceeds apace.

Mr. H. Quelch, too, who will vigorously denounce the writer of the above pars when he reads them, who is always protesting against this policy of "pin pricks," who will "go for" the Wigan branch of the S.D.F. at the forthcoming annual conference with all the vehemence and vituperation at his command (and that's not a little), when they urge, if permitted by the Conference, the deletion of the palliatives from the S.D.F. programme, has also been distinguishing himself recently.

In the *Daily Express* for January 30th he had an article on Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., with whom he associates and co-operates at various conferences and congresses. For that attack on the chairman of the I.L.P. he received, I suppose, four or five guineas. He, therefore, is quite willing to become a capitalist hack in pursuance of his desire to discredit one whose success (by means quite as creditable as those employed by many S.D.F. aspirants for political honours) has made him green with envy.

In the House of Commons on January 29th Mr. A. Henderson opened his remarks on the King's Speech by saying that the Labour Party welcomed most heartily the references to the policy of the Government in regard to Macedonia and the Congo Free State. It is, of course, most important from the capitalist point of view that as much attention as possible should be diverted

from evils here to troubles thousands of miles away.

On the following day Mr. Ramsay MacDonald declared that the existing machinery for dealing with unemployment is very simple and the Act establishing it, for which Mr. Walter Long was responsible, was one of the most courageous pieces of statesmanship seen in our generation! Mr. Pete Curran followed and asked the Government and all parties in the House to prevent the possibility of revolution in this country!

There is no possibility of revolution so long as the workers are content to be represented by the Hendersons, the MacDonalds and the Currans, and the Liberals and Conservatives are fully aware of it.

Mr. A. Henderson has been elected to the committee of the Nonconformist members of the House of Commons. His election is another proof of the value of the Labour Party pledge to abstain from identifying themselves with any section of the Liberal or Conservative Parties.

Whenever it has to define a policy on social and economic questions the Labour Party is forced by the logic of circumstances to proceed on Socialist lines, say the Executive of the S.D.F. in a circular appealing for more money. From this we gather that the Labour Party's Unemployed Bill, with its Penal Clause, is, in the opinion of the S.D.F. on Socialist lines. No wonder it's a difficult job to convert the workers to Socialism.

Mr. E. R. Pease, in *The International*, makes a similar remarkable statement. The particular measures the Labour Party introduces, he says, and the proposals it makes are without exception Socialist!

"Bold advocacy might win the middle classes to see that their interests are in no way injured by a policy of social justice and humane reform."—*Daily News*.

In his "Report on Sanatoria for Consumption and Certain Other Aspects of the Tuberculosis Question" issued on January 23rd by the Local Government Board, Dr. H. Timbrell Bulstrode says that whilst the prevalence of consumption is contributed to by many causes, poverty stands out prominently above all others. "Although," he says, "it is a matter for dispute which elements of poverty are mainly operative, there is much evidence in support of the view that poverty as a whole, with all that it comprises and implies, may be regarded as one of the most, if not the most, potent predisposing causes of the malady. Poverty acts in many ways; it may, for instance, diminish resistance of the individual to the disease by promoting overcrowding of persons, semi-starvation, lack of sunlight, of ventilation, and of cleanliness; it may induce occupational predisposition, and increase opportunities for infection."

"Where are your hospitals?" demands the thoughtless opponent of the Socialist speaker. But they are not ours. They belong to the capitalist system to which they are necessary. They will not be required under Socialism, because the poverty and the risks of employment common to capitalism will have disappeared.

In opening his campaign at South Leeds on February 3rd Mr. Fox, in reply to a question, said that he didn't agree that capitalism is the root of poverty, but he did agree that Socialism is the only real remedy!

Giving evidence before the Factory Commission at Cawnpore (India) on January 18th, Mr. Francis Horsman, of the Cawnpore Cotton Mill said they had worked twelve hours a day for the past year, as compared with thirteen hours previously, and the gross production was just as good. In other words, with the shorter hours each operative produced more per hour than previously.

J. KAY.

CUTTINGS AND COMMENTS.

"Consider ye the millionaires, how they toil not, neither spin, yet Solomon in all his glory couldn't buy the gasoline for their automobiles. How do they manage to do it? It's a cinch. You are foolish enough to work and they are sensible enough to let you. By 'abstinence and thrift' they have succeeded in gobbling everything in sight, so that when your poetic soul is filled with the noble aspiration to toil, you have to do it with their tools, in their factories. Whatever you make should logically belong to them. And it does. Out of the fullness of their pocketbooks they humanely return you enough so that you may live to work another day, and all goes as merry as a funeral until their warehouses are filled to overflowing. Then it becomes manifestly impossible for them to allow you to work any longer. You have been gluttonous and intemperate instead of taking your work in decent moderation and look what you've done."

The reference to millionaires in the above extract from the *Western Clarion* (Vancouver, B.C.) reminds one of the Harmsworth publication, entitled, "Fortunes made in Business," in which it is stated that

"The House of Rothschild is to-day one of the greatest powers of the world. Its members exercise more direct influence on human affairs than perhaps any king. Its agents, mostly unknown, are at work in a hundred lands. It creates new nations. At the bidding of its members kings stay their campaigns. . . . The total of their wealth can only be imagined. In the great capitals of Europe they hold their court—the money lords of the Eastern world. Their nod could produce, if they wished, the greatest financial panic the world has ever seen, sending hundreds of thousands to ruin almost in a day."

The apologists of the capitalist system declare that the "common people" rule in this "democratic age." The words quoted above will be useful to our propagandists who run up against such flappedoodlers.

From the same series we learn that the foundation of the Rothschild's wealth was laid by an incident that occurred when Europe was in arms against Bonaparte. Hearing that Napoleon had sent an army to seize him and sack his country, the Landgrave of Hesse took flight, but before doing so he handed over his gold and art treasures to Rothschild (Mayer Anselm of that ilk) to mind. The Jew buried them and after the soldiers had left, having failed to discover anything, dug them up and sent the bullion to his son (Nathaniel Mayer) in London. He used it and luck being with him multiplied it exceedingly. Had Waterloo gone against the British, the Rothschilds would probably have been ruined and would certainly have lost the Landgrave's millions. As it was, however, they were enabled to return his money and also considerable profits.

It is always advisable to be successful when you set out to gamble with others' property. If you fail, you will probably be sent to jail, as often happens to solicitors and others who try to emulate the deeds of the Rothschilds and gamble with wealth entrusted to them to "mind." But if you succeed and succeed on a sufficiently large scale, you will be appointed to high places in the State and may "exercise more influence on human affairs than perhaps any king."

"We will never have Socialism until the working class become conscious of being a class and a disinherited class, and until as the result of this class consciousness they struggle as a class for the institution of a society in which they will be equal participants with all at the festal board of humanity."

Wiltshire's Magazine (New York).

Messrs. J. Keir Hardie and J. Bruce Glasier of the Independent Labour Party, which Mr. Wiltshire in his journal supports, declare there is no class war; they say it is a "shibboleth"

and a "reactionary and whiggish precept, certain to lead the movement away from the real aims of Socialism."

But political job hunters will say anything.

"With a Labour party on a trade union basis Liberals could always work in sympathy, although they could not go the whole way with them. With a Labour party which had become the instrument of revolutionary Socialist propaganda they could have nothing to do. They accept Sir Henry Fowler's words spoken so opportunely at Wolverhampton this week. With a scheme such as the Hull Conference has adopted for 'the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange,' Liberals 'will have nothing to do; they will oppose it to the utmost; they will oppose it in the interests of commerce and industry, and in the interests of the people themselves.'" *Daily Chronicle*, Jan. 24th.

Those who really understand Socialism know that neither Liberals nor Tories will help it along, they will fight it to the bitter end. That is why they advise the workers to abstain from voting for candidates of these parties. And when organisations such as the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party not only urge the working class to vote Liberal but also make arrangements with them for dividing the working-class vote it is evident that they do not really understand the principles of revolutionary Socialism.

"The laboring class, who perform the work of the world, must sell themselves to the ruling class. They cannot produce independent of the owners of the machines, mines and factories, because under competition only the cheapest production demands the best, most expensive and complicated machines. They are compelled, because of the fact that social progress and private property in improved machines is making vast numbers of them unnecessary in the process of production, to fight among themselves for any opportunity to live. If they are to rise an atom above the slaves' portion, they must unite and fight side by side against the class of exploiters."

Thus says the *International Socialist Review* for Australasia, but to fight against the class of exploiters means to fight against them all the time, not to oppose them in one district and support them in another as has been the practice of the professing Socialist parties, the S.D.F. and the I.L.P., in this country.

"If I have to take money from you does it matter whether I take it from your right or your left pocket?" asked the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain in one of his Tariff Reform speeches.

As the working class must be exploited by the master class, does it matter to the former whether the latter call themselves Liberals or Tories, Christians or Jews, Imperialists or Little Englanders, Protestants or Catholics?

"It (a minimum wage for State employment) should be fixed at such a sum that whilst it would be sufficient to support life on a scale of decency it would not unduly tax the resources of the capitalist system to afford it," says Mr. H. Russell Smart, of the Independent Labour Party, in his pamphlet, "The Right to Work."

How anxious the I.L.P. leaders are not to "unduly tax the capitalist system"! Can the Socialist omelette be made without breaking the capitalist egg?

At Fairbairn Hall, Canning Town, on Feb. 14, Cllr. J. Jones, S.D.F., in his well-known *manly* manner, persistently interrupted the speech of Mr. Masterman, M.P., on the Unemployed. When the speaker declared that the most he hoped for from the Farm Colony was that it would improve the men's physical condition, Councillor Jones shouted: "Yes, for their masters to exploit them and make more money out of them." Jones denouncing palliatives is a sight for gods and men.

PARTY NOTES.

Comrade Scholfield, of 77, Parliament Street, Burnley, is keeping our Party well to the front locally. He and others heckled Philip Snowden after his recent address there, when the latter made the remarks concerning drink and gambling which were criticised in *Justice*. But these same remarks were loudly applauded by members of the S.D.F. who were present.

Manchester comrades are still active, so active that when Philip Snowden lectured at the Free Trade Town Hall on February 2nd, their questions were met with cries of "Throw 'em out!"

At that meeting over ten shillings' worth of Socialist Standards were sold. Up to time of writing the Manchester comrades have taken 26 doz. of the February issue.

The advertised debate between Councillor Dey and Comrade Anderson drew a large audience to Grovedale Hall, Holloway, on February 6th, every inch of space and also the staircase being occupied, while scores were unable to gain admission. Councillor Dey presided and stated that Alderman Saint, who was to have done so, was seriously ill, and that owing to the stress of recent business engagements he (Mr. Dey) had been unable to devote the necessary time to the subject and therefore had secured Councillor Freeman to take his place. Councillor Freeman opened and was followed by Anderson. Both speakers had an attentive hearing and the S.P.G.B. is quite satisfied with the result. The collection realized £1 8s. 3d.

The meetings will continue at Grovedale Hall during March under the auspices of the Islington Branch, but will commence at 8 p.m. On Wednesday, March 18th, an evening's relaxation will be provided. A Social and Dance will be held, commencing at 7.30, to which all comrades and friends will be heartily welcomed.

The debate between the Islington S.P.G.B. and the S.D.F. is "off," owing to the action of the latter. The facts are as follows: On Sunday, December 22nd, the chairman of the S.D.F. meeting at 231, Liverpool Road, accepted a challenge, issued on behalf of the S.P.G.B., to debate "The Palliative Position of the S.D.F. v. The Non-Palliative Position of the S.P.G.B." When, however, the S.D.F. Committee met, they desired to twist the subject into "Non-Palliative v. Palliative Socialism, without reference to parties." Our Islington branch wrote asking what the S.D.F. meant by "Palliative Socialism" and why they desired no reference to parties? To this the S.D.F. replied that their general meeting had confirmed the Committee's acceptance of the challenge, but they now submitted as the subject, "The Non-Palliative Policy of a Socialist Party v. The Palliative Policy of a Socialist Party," and they desired no reference to parties as "this would engender acrimony." In a further letter the S.D.F. wrote: "We do not intend to debate with your Party as to whether we are a Socialist Party or not."

And there, for the present, the matter ends.

SUNDAY EVENINGS AT ILFORD.

S.P.G.B. CLUB, 27, YORK ROAD
(back of Ilford Railway Station.)

Mar. 1st—H. PHILLIPS:—
"Mr. Victor Grayson's 'Socialism.'"
" 8th—J. H. KENNETT:—
"Municipal Politics."
" 15th W. COLE:—
"Can a Socialist be a Christian?"
" 22nd—M. BARTLEY:—
"Socialism and Women."
" 29th—A. REGINALD:—
Capitalist Instruction v.
Socialist Education."

Commence at 8. Questions. Discussion.
Opponents invited.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BAITERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

CLAPHAM.—W. H. Evans, Sec., 16, Lockington Rd., Battersea Park Road, S.W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 at Sec's address.

EARLSFIELD.—J. McManus, Sec., 12, Burmister Rd., Earlsfield, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at Bridgman's Coffee Tavern, corner of Burtop Rd., Garratt Lane.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.

ISLINGTON.—H. A. Young, Sec. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—Jim Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance Street, Hulme, Manchester.

PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Wednesday, 8.30 p.m., at Harley's Coffee Tavern (foot of Lock Bridge), Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Wed. at 8.30.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 at Club. Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at 86, Mellison Road.

TOTTENHAM.—T. W. Lobb, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd. Discussion Class, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

WATFORD.—T. Wilkins, Sec., 4, Marlborough Rd., Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, followed at 8.30 by discussion, at 447, Katherine Road, Forest Gate.

WOOD GREEN.—H. Crump, Secretary, 39, Hermitage Road, Harringay, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

SUNDAY EVENINGS

AT

Battersea Branch

(LABURNUM HOUSE, 134, HIGH STREET),

—:—:—

Mar. 1st—SOCIAL AND DANCE.

" 8th—T. W. ALLEN:—
"How to Unite the Working Class."

" 15th—R. H. KENT:—
"Socialism and Eugenics."

" 22nd—H. NEWMAN:—
"The Materialist Conception of History."

" 29th—T. A. JACKSON:—
"God and the State."

—:—:—

Commence at 7.30 p.m. Questions, Discussion.
Opponents warmly welcomed.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.
ISLINGTON BRANCH.

—:—:—

= Grovedale Hall, =
GROVEDALE ROAD, ELTHORNE ROAD,
UPPER HOLLOWAY.
(3 minutes from "Archway" Tavern).

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8.0.

—:—:—

Mar. 5th—R. H. KENT:—
"Socialism and Eugenics."

" 12th—H. NEWMAN:—
"The Materialist Conception of History."

" 19th—A. ANDERSON:—
"The Commune of Paris."

" 26th—J. FITZGERALD:—
"The Evolution of Society."

—:—:—

— Discussion and opposition invited. —
Admission Free.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:—:—

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

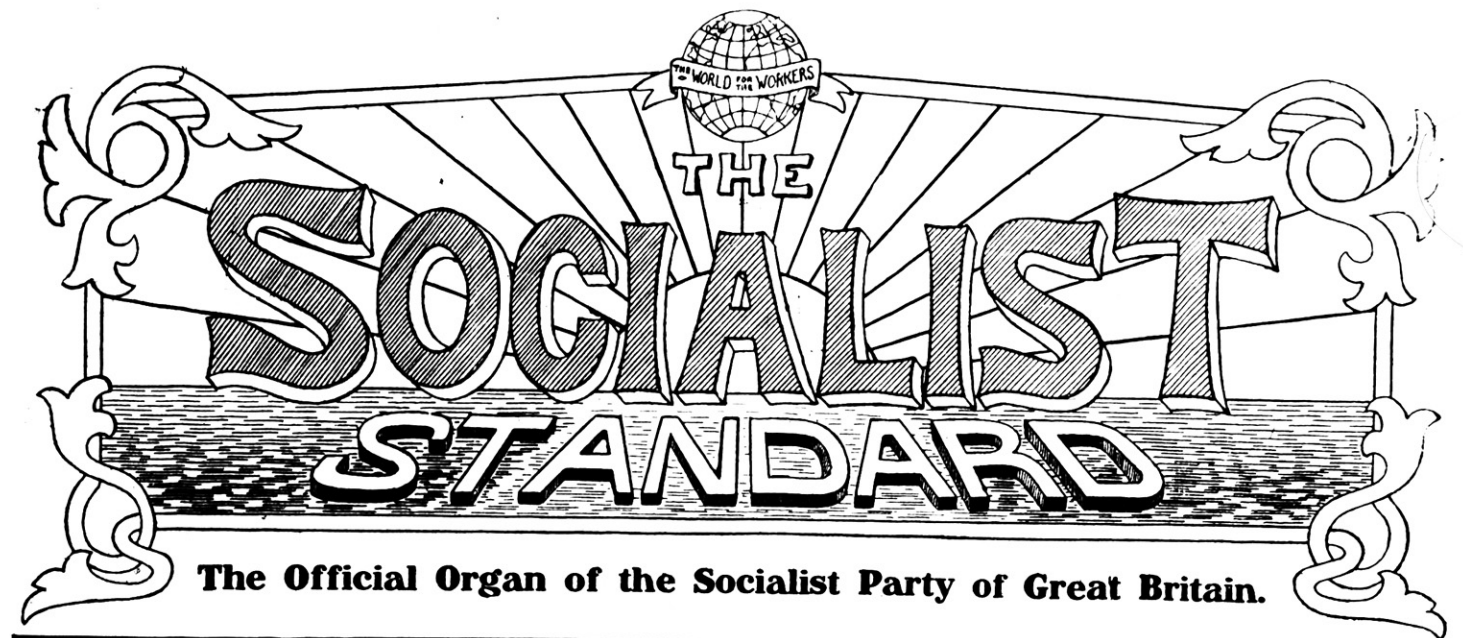
Address.....

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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 44. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, APRIL, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

Why are there unemployed? UNEMPLOYMENT is the workers' constant scourge. It is the haunting fear of this that makes the toiler cringe before the tyranny of the master or brutal foreman; that compels him to accept low wages and degrading conditions of toil; that forces him to blackleg those on strike and become a tool to break the spirit of his fellows. Any attempt, therefore, to seriously grapple with this question must command our closest attention, for it is above all necessary for wage workers to have clear ideas upon this subject.

But what lies back of the unemployed question? Is it that the labour of the worker cannot provide his necessities of life? No, it is because he is denied the opportunity to apply his labour. It is because the means of life—land, mines, factories and railways—are the monopoly of a distinct class who will only feed the wage-slave when the conditions of the market enable a profit to be realised on his labour. In his profit hunger the capitalist continually cuts down his labour bill, and the worker is squeezed out of the factory by new machines and other labour saving devices. The enormous increase in the productivity of labour is accompanied by a slackening demand for products. The growing army of unemployed and paupers, the continued crushing of middlemen by company and trust, all tend to seriously restrict purchasing power in the home market; while other nations inevitably take a larger share in the markets of the world, and so slacken demand there also. Supply permanently outstrips demand. Workers must starve because they have produced too much!

The great social means of production which have now developed, and which are worked by the compulsory co-operation of thousands of workers in factory, mine and railway, are in violent conflict with the anarchy of capitalist distribution, and cry out for the adjustment of Society to the social nature of the new economic conditions.

What must be done? Is it "practical politics" to deny the class antagonism, as does the Labour Party, and to beg the capitalist to get off the worker's back? Is it to be expected the masters will themselves abolish the unemployed, the keystone of their social arch?

The only hope for the workers, employed and unemployed, is in their organisation as a class against the class that is organised against them. They must realise that they will only get what they are able to take; that it is utterly stupid to expect their enemies to legislate or administer against their own interests. The profits of the capitalist class, their income, and even their continued existence as a class depend upon the existence or creation of a reserve labour army.

If there were no unemployed there would be no blacklegs, the "sack" would lose its terrors, wages would rise and profits vanish. Voltaire said if God did not exist it would be necessary to invent one. The modern capitalist can say with more truth that if the unemployed did not exist it would be necessary to create them. How stupid it is then to expect any but the workers themselves to deal seriously with that vital question.

Those who live upon the workers may provide workhouses, or penal colonies as in Belgium and elsewhere, but this means simply that the lash of hunger is partly replaced by the lash of conditions so bad that the victim is glad to accept the worst paid and most wretched toil in the competitive world outside rather than stay.

This is the principle of the workhouse stoneyard—it is also the principle of the Labour Party's Bill.

The Bankruptcy of Labourism. Never was the bankruptcy of Labourism more evident than in its attempt at legislation on unemployment. Having by its flabbiness lost much of the confidence of its supporters, and having before it the prospect of meeting its Waterloo at the next election, the Labour Party was at last to make a stand and to do something to regain the lost confidence and prepare for the battle to come. That something is the Unemployed Workmen Bill!

The Labour Party is indeed fortunate in its defeat. Had not the Liberal Party thought it profitable, in view of the great Tory campaign,

to make a show of opposition to the falsely so-called "Socialist" Labour Party, and had it adopted the Bill, emphasising its penal clause; the game of the Labour group would have been up; the rottenness of the Bill could not have escaped exposure, and the hopelessness of peddling Labourism would have been driven home to the multitude.

For what does the Bill amount to?

One of the great claims for the Bill was that it was a training Bill. J. R. McDonald in seconding the second reading said it was not relief works that were wanted, but to impose a course of training on the unemployed man; and that it was a mistake to assume "that the purpose of the promoters was to put the unemployed to their own work." What does this mean?

It means, since there are unemployed in every calling, that an unemployed navvy, for example, is to be trained for carpentering or bricklaying, while the bricklayer or carpenter is to be trained for navvying! To attempt to alleviate general unemployment by such means is on a par with the suggestion that men could earn their living by taking in one another's washing.

But the crux of the Bill, according to the Labour Party, is clause 3, and we agree. At first glance the clause appears to provide employment at conditions not lower than those standard in the locality, as demanded by trade unionists; but a second glance reveals that this is a snare and a delusion. It is so worded as to give a false impression to the trade union worker, while in reality it places no limit to the badness of conditions which the unemployed man must accept under pain of punishment.

In the House of Commons Mr. McDonald confessed that the clause "may be badly worded," but that it only meant that the trade unionist was not to be victimised because he may formerly have declined work for an outside capitalist at less than current rates. "It did not mean that the local employment authority must provide work at trade union rate of wages."

No, indeed, the only conditions are such as capitalists may consider "reasonable," and we know what that means. Under the Bill a man might be offered the wretchedest conditions of both work and pay, and what would be the result if he refused? The local authority is then empowered under clause 7 to obtain an order "to enforce control over the person named in the order for a period not exceeding six months, which period must be passed in the performance of reasonable work under the control of the local employment authority."

That is to say, if you will not accept the most degrading conditions that may be offered, they may inflict penal servitude upon you for a period not exceeding six months. This is the "Right to Work"!

And what is there to prevent the local authorities, as of yore, putting men to work at exceedingly low rates (under pretence of unemployed relief) at work which must otherwise have been done at full rates by men now transformed into "unemployed"?

So long as there is a capitalist Parliament the Local Government Board will be its tool, while there is no more bitter enemy of the workers than its president. Yet the Labour Party in their Bill place enormous powers of control and in the framing of rules for carrying out the Act, in the hands of the L.G.B. Even were the Bill otherwise of any use, this would suffice to damn it.

Unemployment is the big stick that the master class use to break strikes, to beat down wages, and to make the employed "get a hustle" on them. The ruling class is not going to burn that stick. For the abolition of unemployment there is only one way, and that is not to follow the Will-o'-the-wisp of Labourism, but for the workers to organise as a class for Socialism. The workers must therefore organise to themselves capture political power in order that they may cease to be the despised beasts of burden of the propertied class, and become freely associated producers in a co-operative commonwealth.

Socialism is your only hope.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF MARX.

May 5th, 1818. — March 14th, 1883.

At the ancient German town of Treves, Heinrich Karl Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism, was born of Jewish parents on May 5th, 1818. The father of Marx was a prominent lawyer, and a man of considerable talent, saturated with the ideas of the French Encyclopædists of the 18th century regarding religion, science, and art. After going through the ordinary school course, Marx entered the university of Bonn and later that of Berlin, studying "law to please his father and history and philosophy to please himself." At the conclusion of his university studies, Marx intended to take a lectureship in philosophy at the Bonn University, but the treatment meted out to his friend Bruno Bauer, who was a lecturer there, caused him to relinquish this plan.

Though Marx was at this time but 24, his remarkable talent already attracted the attention of the Rheinisch bourgeoisie, and at the founding of the "Rheinische Zeitung" in the Autumn of 1842, he was placed at its direction. The life of this journal was a continual struggle with the censorship. A double censorship not sufficing to curb this dangerous daily paper it was suppressed by the government in 1843.

With his young wife, Jenny Von Westphalen, Marx now settled in Paris. Here he made the acquaintance of Engels and Proudhon, and collaborated with Arnold Ruge in the production of the "Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher." In these annals he published his long essay on Hegel's "Philosophy of Law" and another on the Hebrew question, which show that he had by this time emancipated himself from his earlier Hegelianism, and had wedded the dialectic to experience.

After the cessation of the Franco-German Annals, Marx and Engels—for the two become henceforth inseparable, the one supplementing the other—wrote the "Holy Family," a satirical critique of German idealistic philosophy; and collaborated with Heine and Ewerbeck on the Paris "Vorwärts."

Marx having, as he himself said, been led by his studies to the conclusion that legal relations, as well as the forms of state, could neither be understood by themselves nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but are rooted in the material conditions of social life; now took up seriously the study of economics as the anatomy of society. These studies were continued in Brussels, where Marx nevertheless found time to write articles and pamphlets, and to reply to Proudhon's bombastic Utopianism by the "Poverty of Philosophy." The Communist Alliance had been founded by German refugees in Paris, and while in Brussels Marx and Engels joined this semi-secret society, which henceforth became simply an organisation for Communist propaganda. In 1847 the Alliance was transformed by the adoption of the famous Communist Manifesto.

In the stormy times which followed the events of February, 1848, Marx was expelled from Brussels, went to Paris and thence after a time to Cologne, where he collaborated with Engels, Wilhelm and Ferdinand Wolff, Ernest Dronke, and the poets Freiligrath and Georg Weerth, on the brilliant editorial staff of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung." The defence of the Parisian insurgents by this intrepid daily paper, together with its outspoken policy in general, brought about a continuous struggle with the reaction and finally led to the suppression of the journal in May, 1849.

Marx now went to Paris, and having participated in the movement culminating in the fiasco of "June 13th, 1849" was expelled from Paris and came to London, then truly the hub of the world. Here he found the material for the work of his life, for, as Liebknecht says, "Capital" could have been created in London only.

Keeping aloof during this time from the dregs of the February and March movements, Marx now wrote his history of the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1852, under the title of the "18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," a work which, to those familiar with the chief personages and events of the time, is an illuminating application of the economic interpretation of

history.

After the dastardly trial and conviction of the Communists at Cologne, and the consequent crushing of propaganda, the Communist Alliance was dissolved; Marx writing his "Disclosures regarding the Cologne Communist Trial" in 1853. The time that followed was for Marx an entire devotion to scientific study and literary work. He became a regular contributor to the "New York Tribune," then under the famous editorship of Horace Greely and C. A. Dana; and became acquainted with David Urquhart, the talented explorer and student of Oriental questions.

From this period date the articles on "Revolution and Counter Revolution," while the materials were now gathered for the "Life of Lord Palmerston," "The Secret Diplomatic History of the 18th Century" and "The Eastern Question."

In 1859 the "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" was published, and in it were laid down the foundations of the work afterwards developed in "Capital."

Marx again entered politics in 1859, and came into conflict with Herr Vogt, a German ex-regent then at the court of Napoleon III. Carl Vogt's abuse of the "Sulphur Gang" drew from Marx the classic pamphlet "Herr Vogt."

A revival of the labour movement was now taking place almost throughout Europe. Meetings of sympathy with Poland led to the suggestion of an International Association of Working-men, and in September, 1864, at a meeting in the old St. Martin's Hall, London, the International was formed. Its history is that of continued struggle with enemies within and without, and its dissolution was precipitated, not alone by the superior force of organised repression, but also by the internal struggle between the Communists, and the Utopians and Anarchists. It nevertheless served its purpose in laying the foundation of international working-class organisation.

In 1867 the first volume of "Capital" appeared, and its influence has steadily grown year by year. Even the acutest critics pay tributes to the value of the book and the genius of its author. Marx stands out as the protagonist of the economic interpretation of history; a method of investigation and theory of social growth developed independently as regards ancient society by the great American, Lewis H. Morgan. "Capital" is, indeed, the demonstration of this method and theory, and even opponents are compelled to admit, as does E. A. Seligman of Columbia University, N.Y., Professor of political economy and finance, that "whether or no we agree with Marx's analysis of industrial society, and without attempting as yet to pass judgment upon the validity of his philosophical doctrine, it is safe to say that no one can study Marx as he deserves to be studied—and let us add, as he has hitherto not been studied in England or America—without recognising the fact that, perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."

The war of 1870 and the Commune which followed it proved trying times for the International. To this period we owe the manifestoes by Marx on the war and the Commune. The International having become a terror to the rulers of Europe was now outlawed in all countries. The headquarters were transferred to New York by the Congress of La Hague in 1873, and this meant practically its dissolution. Sickness, brought on by overwork, undermined the strong constitution of Marx and forced him to seek the South of France. The death of Jenny, his wife, dealt him a terrible blow, to be followed soon after by another in the death of Jenny Longuet, his favourite daughter. With sorrow thus heaped upon his head the scientist of the proletariat languished a few months longer and died peacefully in London on the 14th March, 1883.

It has not been attempted to deal with the touching family life of Marx; that may be glimpsed in Liebknecht's "Biographical Memoirs" to which indeed we are indebted for many of the facts already set forth.

We are here concerned above all with the

* "The Economic Interpretation of History," p. 56. The Macmillan Co.

scientific method, the economics and philosophy of Marx, and its supreme utility to the working-class movement.

The enormous, continued, and yet ineffective literature of Marxian criticism is the highest testimony to the importance of what is called Marxism, and to the impregnability of its position. The dialectic of events daily confirms the dialectic of Marx, and now the duty devolves upon those with whom science is not subordinate to the buttressing of exploitation to cease their damnable faces and get to business. The instrument of investigation forged by Marx—and already so fruitful of results—has wide fields yet virgin before it in the domain of ideology, in the evolution of philosophy, art, and religion. To use the method of Marx, however, it is above all necessary to comprehend it. There are members of the working class, who, having studied and mastered the historic method of Marx, lament silently the lack of leisure and lack of means that condemn them to sterility. Adequate study is rendered impossible to them, and they are denied the opportunity of using the splendid instrument the genius of Marx has prepared, in increasing our knowledge along any of the wide vistas of scientific investigation that open out before them.

But the Socialist worker knows that this cannot always be, and though his intellect is despised by the would-be intellectuals of the bourgeoisie from behind their shallow learning and superficial polish, yet he, at least, sees clearly the trend of evolution and holds the key of the future; while bourgeois social science has to declare itself bankrupt where it does not adopt the method of Marx.

F. CHARLES.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR IN PARIS.

'Tis a drizzly Sunday afternoon, and the great Place de la République looks at first glance much as usual. But a closer survey reveals the presence of a large number of policemen, some, indeed, standing in ranks under the wall of the Chateau d'Eau barracks, while opposite, an officer in glittering helmet talks with some persons who, in spite of their "bourgeois" clothing, betray the state functionary. What's in the wind? We pass out of the "Place" and see that the Bourse du Travail or Labour Exchange a few steps further on is honoured by the presence of a number of perambulating policemen. The mystery begins to clear: working men in republican Paris are holding a meeting. And why? To discuss what steps can be taken to alleviate or remove the workers' ever-present curse—UNEMPLOYMENT.

The numerous speakers vigorously, aye, often eloquently, call upon the suffering toilers to get together and do things, but no efficacious scheme for the alleviation of unemployment shows itself.

All seem agreed that the overthrow of the master class and the control of industry by the workers, that is to say, the Social Revolution, is indispensable to the workers' well-being. We note meanwhile that our Parisian comrades hope yet much from their traditional street demonstration, from "direct action," a euphemism for various acts of violence.

At least they have outgrown the particular idiocy which consists in petitioning ministers, asking these to abolish capital's reserve army—the unemployed.

As we leave the hall and go out into the street, the policemen by twos quickly mix with the crowd and we hear their "avancez!" "circulez!"—equivalents of the "move on!" with which English workers are familiar. Meanwhile across the boulevard opposite stand a long double line of Republican Guards, rifle by knee.

And we are told "there is no class struggle," or if there is it does not matter.

And what a commentary are these typical Parisian scenes upon the worth of neo-Malthusianism, protection, and "democratic institutions" which reach their apotheosis in France!

J.H.H.

A LESSON IN CAPITALIST ETHICS.

The fact brutally resolves itself to this. Society ultimately depends on force. Happily force is not constantly employed, but, until the world becomes very different from what it is, it must always be latent.—*The Times*, Feb. 29, 1908.

OUR REVIEW PAGE.

THE PROBLEM OF RACE CULTURE.

["The Bar of Isis: the Law of the Mother." By FRANCES SWINEY. The Open Road Publishing Co. 6d. nett.]

THE subject discussed in this well-printed brochure of 50 pages is one that is beginning to have more attention paid to it than formerly, although not more perhaps than it deserves. Isis, the wife and the sister of Osiris, the God of the Egyptians, became later the patron Goddess of women, and the Bar of Isis represents the sanctity of the prospective mother from all approaches of the male. The argument of the book is that the husband must learn to be sexually abstemious, for on his continence depends, to a very large extent, the health and constitutional vigour of the offspring. Many of the ailments of children are alleged to be attributable to the incontinence of the father during the period of gestation. Medical evidence is quoted in favour of this position, yet Dr. Allinson lays down a different position, and he is probably one of the best known writers on this subject. Apart from certain personal factors, he says nothing in favour of complete abstinence on the part of the husband and no injury to the offspring is suggested as the result of indulgence during the prohibited period.

But all that apart. We are not particularly concerned with questions of that nature. The important part of the book to us, is where it is argued that race deterioration and degeneracy are attributable to the violation of the Bar of Isis; for whether such violation does or does not adversely affect the child, it seems abundantly clear that such pre-natal factors are as dust in the balance against material factors of a post-natal character, such as food, clothing and shelter. As with our author, so with the Eugenicist. Indeed, their objects seem to be the same, viz., a short cut to the solution of the social problem; the one through heredity, the other through an improvement in pre-natal environment. Both positions fail by ignoring the material conditions with which the Socialist primarily deals. The offspring of genius, developed under ideal conditions of pre-natal development, would still need to be fed, clothed, housed, educated, etc. The words of Max Nordau in this connexion carry considerable weight owing to their obvious truth: "Marry Hercules with Juno, and Apollo with Venus, and put them in slums—their children will be stunted in growth, rickety and consumptive. On the other hand, take the miserable slum-dwellers out of their noxious surroundings, house, feed, clothe them well, give them plenty of light, air, and leisure, and their grand-children, perhaps already their children, will reproduce the type of the fine, tall Saxons and Danes of whom they are the offspring." There is no way of taking the slum-dweller out of his noxious surroundings except by abolishing the poverty that sent and keeps him there. As William Morris said, while you have poor people you will have people poorly housed; and the same thing applies to feeding, clothing, etc. Socialism alone can abolish poverty by abolishing private ownership of the means of living which allows the workers to be expropriated of the wealth they produce, yielding them only as wages the cost of their subsistence.

Were it not for the overshadowing fear of the Editor's blue pencil, I could show, from the pronouncements of the Eugenists themselves, that the improvement of the environment is essential to the improvement of the race. Eugenics is, for the present, mainly negative. It consists, in the words of Dr. C. W. Saleeby, in the denial of the supreme privilege of parentage to those suffering from congenital defects of mind or body. On the other hand it seeks to encourage the fecundity of superior types. This then is the Eugenic aim, the discouragement of the unfit and the encouragement of the fit to perpetuate the species. There is a difficulty in the fact that the lower type is naturally the more fertile. Dr. J. L. Taylor, in a long paper on Individuality, in discussing this subject, differentiates the prevailing types as mainly paleo-

genic and neogenic, which we, being under no obligation to use unnecessarily long words, may call the low type and the high type. He shows that the low type persists owing to the existence of the material environment adapted to it; and it would seem, therefore, that the more effective method of discouraging the continuance of the low type lies, not in artificial and oppressive sterilisation, but simply in improving the environment, thus automatically discouraging the low type by forcing it upward in an endeavour to adapt itself to a higher environment. The potentially high types who acquire the characteristics of the lower through "noxious surroundings" would be enabled to develop; the low types would cease to flourish in an environment unsuited to them; while each individual of whatever type could adequately develop the best that it had the fortune to inherit.

This cannot be done under the conditions of modern society. The thirteen millions of people in this country "on the verge of hunger," the 30 per cent. of the people of London who live on or below the poverty line; the million or more of the inhabitants of London who live under "overcrowded" conditions, are all hopelessly handicapped in their development, and it is to these conditions we must turn our hand before we can even be sure of the other facts in the question. Socialism will apply the solution to all these problems, in the first and most important place, by removing the economic hindrance to a full and adequate satisfaction of the material requirements. In the second place by removing the property restrictions which hinder the operation of what in biology is known as sexual selection, and allowing freedom of choice between the individuals, irrespective of the all-pervading influence of economic considerations. And in the third place by removing that economic necessity of obedience to the breadwinner which will probably explain to the author of the book we set out to notice the main causes of the violation of the Bar of Isis.

D.K.

A LABOUR REVIEW.

["The Socialist Review." I.L.P., London. 6d. nett.]

THE Editor of this Review tells us that one of the circumstances which call for its publication is the desirability of attracting sections of the middle class. The movement "must command the support of the intellectual democracy; the professional classes—the men and women whose 'wages' is not merely an income, but the mental satisfaction which their work brings; the intellectual middle and rich classes—men and women who are moved by intellectual ideals, repulsions and attractions."

The review, presumably, is an appeal to the "brains" of the nation, in contradistinction to the intellectual bestiality of the lower orders.

Since, however, the middle class is helpless without the aid of the workers, the Editor is constrained to insist on the futility of a separate middle class organisation. "A middle class Socialist Society is an absurdity." It could be nothing but an uncertain, isolated and somewhat despised influence. So this coterie of politicians are prepared to use the working class as voting cattle under the guidance of middle-class "intellect" for the furtherance of middle-class interests.

One of the contributors, Mr. J. R. McDonald, in advocating the taking of office in a capitalist cabinet by "Socialists," under very elastic conditions, shows how keen is his scent for the fleshpots of office.

He also says: "A Labour Party in the House of Commons can do as much for Socialism as a Socialist Party can do, because the former can use to the maximum every Socialist tendency of the present day. We may have a hundred debates on Socialism in the House of Commons, but the unemployed will be starving unless we get an act passed that will work. Many people will support such an act who are not Socialists. They belong to the tendencies making for Socialism."

A non-Socialist party in the House of Commons could neither assist in the spread of Socialism by making its principles clear, nor use

to the maximum the events of the day, since it would lack the necessary knowledge and backbone. Its ignorance and blunders give rise to the confusion of the workers, and at the same time provide the opportunity of the enemy. The result can only be disappointment, apathy and retrogression.

The overwhelming majority of the Liberal Government against the "Unemployed Workmen Bill" shows that even the paltriest measure that threatens their interests finds the capitalist class united against it. Many even among those who voted for the Bill did so merely as a "blind," because they knew it could not pass, as indicated in the "House." While the Bill itself is hopeless, its penal clause is deserving of the strongest condemnation. Even if passed it would only be administered by the class in control of the administration *in so far as it served their interests*, and wherever the worker might theoretically stand to gain, its provisions would be distorted, re-interpreted or neglected, and no power could say them nay.

What do these facts show but the necessity for the revolutionary method at which Mr. McDonald sneers? Is it not imperative that the workers be helped to see that to legislate in their interest they must control political power? and to have such legislation administered in their interests they must themselves administer them? The reform method is hopeless. The only hope lies in the consciousness of the workers in their class interests, and in their persistent organisation and advance toward the control of the political machinery, for then only can they commence to use the economic forces which have developed under capitalism, for the well-being of those who produce; while only by the adoption of this method are they likely to get "something now."

The review also contains some extracts from letters by Marx and Engels which the Editor tries to use in support of the Labour Party.

The letters, as they are printed, are not authoritative since they have the appearance of having been edited with a purpose. The full text of the letters would have been more convincing.

As they stand, however, the letters by no means support the position of the "Labour Party," for Marx shows how the middle class is to be distrusted; whilst his appreciation of the attitude of Belfort Bax, who, whatever his shortcomings in economics, was at that time the aggressive exponent of working class interest, is significant of what Marx judged important.

The letters of Engels are instinct with confidence in the working class and reliance on the logic of events, whilst insisting on the danger of dogmatism. He insists that "the great thing is to get the working class to move as a class." The italics are Engels'.

And is not the following extract from a letter of Engels' also the condemnation of the policy of the I.L.P.? He says:—

"The Fabians here in London are a band of ambitious folk who have sufficient understanding to comprehend the inevitableness of the social revolution but who cannot trust this gigantic work to the proletarian alone, and therefore have the kindness to place themselves at the head of it. Dread of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the cultured *par excellence*. Their Socialism is municipal Socialism—the commune, not the nation, shall at least be the possessor of the means of production. This Socialism of theirs is then presented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of middle-class Liberalism, and hence their tactics are to fight the Liberals not as decided opponents but to drive them on to socialist consequences; therefore to trick them, to permeate Liberalism with Socialism and not to oppose Socialist candidates to Liberal ones, but to palm them off, to thrust them on, under some pretext."

* * *

The review also contains articles on Italy, Food, the Unemployed, and one by Kautsky on the Belgian Peasantry. It is well got up and will doubtless have a large sale among the many who, under the influence of economic pressure, are becoming dimly conscious of the necessity for social change; but who will have to unlearn, in the hard school of experience, much of what they gather from the literature of the I.L.P.

W.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard.

WED. APRIL 1, 1908.



Boanerges Belligerent.

In other words, John Burns rampant. In fact, he is overdoing it.

His greatness, John Burns himself admits; but it is evident that it was not the "Great Man" himself, but the workers who followed him, who were sold to the Liberal Government for lucrative office.

And the capitalist Press is at times cynically frank in discussing the merits of its faithful servants. Thus the *Observer*, doing the "candid friend," said (15/3/08):—

Mr. Burns may play a strong role in the national struggle against Socialism, and we like his unshrinking courage. But he overdoes the part of Boanerges belligerent. We do not want him to lose his influence over the masses. We want him to retain it; but unless he modifies his later manner his words will carry less weight with the masses than those of any man in England. Once that is seen, his present popularity with plutocrats will fade. These are not pleasant things to say, but they must be said if the President of the Local Government Board is to be prevented from spoiling his career by excess of temperament.

Clearly if John is not careful he will have nothing left to sell.

Rival Paradises.

General Booth says: "The Socialists want to make the world a paradise without having a paradise people." Is the General fearful of the competition of a paradise here below with his problematic paradise to come? Or does he expect hell to breed angels?

The Socialist knows that a paradise people could only be born of paradise conditions; but Christians expect figs to grow on thistles.

And does not this reveal a fundamental cleavage between Socialism and Christianity? The Christian looks on man as the creator of his circumstances; the Socialist looks on man as the product, without, of course, ignoring the reflex action of past environment through the individual.

The environment is almost all powerful, and the secret of the promise of man's future mastery lies in his growing knowledge of the laws of material development and his consequent greater adaptability to these laws.

To the Christian, evolution is man made; to the Socialist, evolution has made man.

Well does the General serve his masters by directing the gaze of the poor from material conditions to mansions in the sky; but his chief merit must be, in the eyes of the masters, to have organised the greatest "free labour" association in existence.

THE DOOM OF THE SMALL BAKER.

THE EFFECT OF AN EIGHT HOURS DAY ON SMALL MASTERS.

The officials of the Bakers' Union continue to make pathetic appeals for working-class support for their poor little bantling, the Eight Hours Bill for Bakers, on the grounds that it would, if carried into law, solve the unemployed problem so far as bakers are concerned.

Now as the large number of small bakers still carrying on business in London and the large towns are themselves working much longer and harder than their overworked employees, and spend their Sabbath, when not in Chapel seeking business, posting up their books and doing other necessary clerical work, and are yet unable to keep in a state of solvency, the forcing up of their wages bill by the enactment of a legal eight hour day, would be, in many instances, the last straw, and their shops would be closed forthwith. Even now the journeymen, after working a "night" of eighteen or twenty hours on Friday-Saturday, often cannot get their wages when they finish, but have to call round late on Saturday night, after the barrowman has brought money in from the rounds.

Immediately, therefore, the new conditions began to operate, the factory owner would scoop in the trade of the struggling masters, with the inevitable result that in a very short time the already large army of unemployed bakers would be augmented to an enormous extent.

The baking industry a few months ago was all agog because of the wonderful machinery on view at Islington. Since that time that "labor saver" has been installed in various factories in London and the provinces, and now several balance sheets are going the rounds of the Baking Trade showing the capacity of such machinery in actual every night practice. In one particular factory five hundred sacks of flour are being turned into one hundred thousand loaves by eleven men, and in another four hundred and eighty to five hundred sacks are done by fifteen men, the extra four men being required in this instance because the bread made is "fancy." To-day the small master has a difficulty in squeezing thirteen sacks out of each man he employs. Obviously, therefore, it is only a question of time and the small man must finally disappear altogether, even under the present conditions of unlimited hours for a limited wage, and any change whatsoever can only result in speeding the departing guest into the ranks of the proletariat. In the factory bakers are not wanted: any "unskilled" man of average intelligence can do what is required, and for laborers' wages.

The eight hour day will come, whether it be legalised or not, in fact, it is here in many instances because the capitalist has found that after that period labour is dear at nothing an hour. He can suck all the labour force out of a man in that time, and just as he has no use for superseded machinery made of steel, he has no use for the human machine until it has recuperated. It does not pay him to run expensive machinery with men from whom all the energy has been pumped. He therefore selects a new gang from the large crowd who are always waiting at the gate, in all weathers, night and day. If by any chance he retains a gang for a short period over the normal day, so alive is he to the quality of their labour that he actually pays them at a lower rate for overtime—in some instances as low as 2d. per hour, and even then by a pretty "wangle" is able to comply with the Trade Union clause in his contracts with Boards of Guardians and other public bodies.

The "big pot" in the trade is in favour of a legal eight hour day, and the reason is not because he is bubbling over with the milk of human kindness and sympathy for the journeyman bakers, but because he has everything to gain from it, and the poor devil who is hanging on by his eyebrows stands to lose what little he has.

What are we to think of those posing as leaders who are holding up such a palatable sham as a remedy for the miseries of the working baker? Happily an ever increasing number are embracing the only remedy—Socialism.

W. WATTS.

PARTY NOTES.

In the *Clarion* of February 7th (Manchester Edition) appeared a Report of the meeting held by the Manchester Central I.L.P. The Report stated that the usual opposition was provided by representatives of the S.P.G.B.

The Secretary of the Manchester S.P.G.B. wrote the *Clarion* pointing out that the "usual" opposition was given because the I.L.P. in Manchester (like the *Clarion* Van in London) does not accept criticism from the S.P.G.B. He held that the time and place to correct misstatements was when and where they were made, and if the I.L.P. wanted unusual opposition all they had to do was to place their platform at the close of the lecture, open to opponents.

The *Clarion* said "Sorry, no room."

We think we have heard that before.

In the same column of answers to correspondents the *Clarion* said, replying to "H.E.": "The *Clarion* prides itself on fair play. We want our opponents to let us know their views."

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has frequently been complimented on being the best printed and turned-out paper connected with what can be very generally called the Labour movement. There is a new arrival in the shape of the *Industrial Unionist*, which is probably the worst printed production in the "movement." In places the errors bristle so thickly as to make the intended meaning difficult to discover.

The methods of discussion are not the cleanest, for in the first article on the Bankruptcy of Parliamentary Socialism, Labourism and Socialism are used as synonymous terms, and Socialism is made responsible for the political fudge of the Labour Party. This is about as reasonable as blaming Industrial Unionism for the sins of Craft Unionism.

The S.D.P. in Battersea are evidently not tainted with "impossibilism." On the 11th of March, J. R. McDonald journeyed to Battersea on behalf of the Labour Party. Mr. W. H. Humphries, S.D.P., "proposed a resolution appreciating the efforts of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, also welcoming the local branch of the Labour Party and wishing it every success."

An amendment was proposed to the effect that "the meeting fully realised the folly of supporting the political representatives of the capitalist class, Liberal and Tory, and was not content with a mere independent Labour Party, but declared for a pure Socialist Party."

The amendment was seconded by D. Carmichael, also of the S.D.P.

Justice of March 14th contained a report of the Hastings Branch which stated that S.P.G.B.'ers had taken part in the bye-election on behalf of the Liberal candidate. This is entirely untrue. Enquiries have shown that no member of the S.P.G.B. went to Hastings, and no member of the S.P.G.B. assisted the Liberal candidate.

D.K.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

"The Hunger Line." Bart Kennedy, 1/-.
"Sixtieth Annual Report of the London Society of Compositors." "Freedom," "Weekly People" (New York), "Gaelic American," "Industrial Union Bulletin," "Russian Worker," "St. Louis Labor," "The Home" (Broken Hill, S. Australia), "The Keel" (Tyneside).

Twenty Labour members voted in the division on Secret Political Funds; ten for the motion and ten against. Thus was "Labour's Unity" demonstrated.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

WHO SHOT THE PRISONERS?

THIRTY seven years have passed since the 18th March, 1871, when the working class of Paris took the management of affairs into their own hands, though the Prussians were at the gates. What the working class did and how they did it has already been told in detail by Lissagaray; and in the description, marvellous for the amount of information and deep analysis of events, given in Marx's pamphlets on "The Civil War in France."

To-day the working class should study this historical event, not only as a record of the treatment meted out to them by their rulers, but still more for its lessons for their future guidance in their struggles with the bourgeoisie.

The first lesson is that lying on the surface—the way in which the capitalist class howled and shrieked at the (mostly mythical) actions of the Communards. Taking their cue from what Marx called "the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption"—M. Thiers—they called for vengeance upon the "murderers" and "assassins" of Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas, and denounced the Central Committee for their death.

General Lecomte was the one in command of the soldiers sent by M. Thiers to steal the cannon belonging to the National Guard at Montmartre. When the people surrounded the soldiers and persuaded them to leave the guns, Lecomte four times ordered the soldiers to fire upon the crowd, including women and children. Instead of doing so the soldiers took him prisoner, and wished to shoot him on the spot, but were induced by some officers of the National Guard to place him under guard in a house in the Rue des Rosiers and to send for the Central Committee.

There happens to be in existence a document detailing the death of these two Generals, by one of the enemies of the Commune—a Versailles officer—and published by P. Vésinier in his "History of the Commune." This officer details his own arrest with two companions, by the National Guard, and how they were taken to a house in the Rue des Rosiers and there met General Lecomte—all awaiting the Central Committee. He then says, "The Committee did not arrive. The crowd outside tired of waiting for it and its decisions, broke the window panes and every moment levelled a gun at us; but the officers of the National Guard, seeing the gravity of our position . . . thrust back the arms that were directed against our breasts and spoke to the crowd, (who yelled 'To Death!') and did everything to gain time, promising to defend our lives with their own . . . The window frame was broken by the efforts of those outside, and gave passage to the most furious of them. Must I say that the very first who laid their hands on the General were a corporal of the 3rd battalion of foot chasseurs, a soldier of the 88th infantry, and two Mobile Guards. One of the last two named miserable men, striking his face with his fist cried out 'you once put me in prison for thirty days: it is I who will give you the first shot.' This was a horrible scene . . . and all at once an old man, whom I did not know, was thrown into the midst of us who evidently had only a few instants to live. Lieutenant Meyer told me that he was General Clément Thomas, who had been arrested in the Rue Pigalle while going for a walk as a spectator." (This is incorrect. General Clément Thomas was caught, in civilian clothes, taking plans of the street barricades, and was arrested as a spy.)

The unexpected arrival of the unfortunate General Thomas, so much detested by these battalions of Montmartre and Belleville on account of his just severity during the siege, had ruined us all . . . he was dragged a few steps aside and killed by ten or a dozen shots. . . a few moments later, the unfortunate General Lecomte had to submit to a like fate in the same manner. . . What was most to be lamented was that French soldiers were the first, at such a moment, to fire on their general, alone and unarmed; . . . (Signed) Captain Beugnot, Ordnance Officer of the Minister of War. Versailles, March 23rd, 1871.

Here, then, is proof positive from the enemy's side, that these two Generals were shot by their own soldiers in the fury of their actions had aroused. But the existence of this evidence did not prevent in the slightest the pouring out of wild rhetorical abuse upon the Commune. Just as to-day when some poor fanatic, either for personal or other reasons, decides to put an end to the existence of some royal or other ruling "head" of capitalism, the Press pumps up a deluge of mingled "sympathetic thrills" for the victim and "righteous indignation and horror" against the "assassin" at so much per "thrill" or line as the case may be; or as when the workers voted a Liberal Government into power they were described as a "keenly intelligent section of the community, far too wise to swallow the sophisms of Mr. Chamberlain," but when, in Belfast, they wished to improve their economic condition, then they were "a mob of lawless rioters," and were shot down, regardless of sex, in the name of "Law and Order." Even as late as 1902, Mr. E. Emerson, in his "History of the Nineteenth Century," says, "The prisoners were shot on both sides." This is a deliberate lie, written in the interests of the ruling class by its paid agents, historians and others.

What may be called the beginning of the regular murder of the prisoners in cold blood was the killing of the Commune officers, Flourens and Duval, by Thiers's soldiers on April 3rd. In response to public pressure, raised through these and similar actions, the Commune seized some hostages, including Archbishop Darboy, but merely kept them confined without any ill-treatment.

Several times the Communards offered to exchange five of the most prominent hostages, including the Archbishop, for one Commune officer—Blanqui—but Thiers refused. When it was pointed out that these refusals might result in the death of the "saintly" Darboy the answer was "We cannot help it." The murdering of the prisoners taken by the Versailles troops steadily continued, but not a single prisoner or hostage was shot by the Communards till after the entry of Thiers's soldiers into Paris—the first executions taking place on May 22nd, seven weeks after the death of Flourens and Duval. Then three were shot, and later six more, in each case by the people breaking open the prisons and demanding the death of the hostages, not by any official orders of the Commune.

In the same "History" Emerson says 10,000 Communards were slaughtered in the streets, but even the official report of Thiers's Government admits something like 30,000 victims to its fury, and we may be sure that this report did not over estimate the number.

As far as different actions in war may be termed "bad" or "vile" there is one action proved against the Government soldiers that even the foulest slanderers of the Commune never dared accuse it of, namely, the firing upon the "Red Cross" ambulance waggons and surgeons. The following letter is published by P. Vésinier in his "History" (p. 231).

"Citizen Editor," (of "Official Journal")—"We bring to your notice an unheard of fact accomplished by the artillery of Mont Valérien on the 3rd of April. About twenty surgeons, accompanied by seven waggons belonging to the International Ambulance Society, bearing the Red Cross of the Geneva Convention on white flags, were made targets of, and had it not been for a bend in the ground, in which they took shelter, the shells would have struck the surgeons and the wounded . . . The Physician in Chief of the Hotel de Ville, Dr. Herzfeld; Deputy Physician, Dr. Claude."

Another rather thin shriek was the cry of "incendiarism!" "petroleuses!" Quite apart from the fact that the Versailles soldiers set fire to far more buildings than the Communards, both by petroleum and shells, it was the former who commenced the business by inundating a building with petroleum, at Ternes, where some National Guards had taken refuge, and burning them to death. In fact in every case of abuse of the Paris working class the facts show that it was the people of "order" who committed the deeds laid at the workers' door.

One of the useful lessons of the Commune was the workers' power of manipulating various functions in Society. Like other working class movements, the Commune had a large share of middle-class and professional men at the head

of affairs, and the useful fact stands out that in those commissions dominated by the workers the operations were almost uniformly successful, while on those commissions dominated by the journalists and "intellectuals" the most serious blunders were committed.

Thiers, Varlin, Frankel, Camelinat, Troilhard, Jourde, were all working men, and their various departments were splendidly managed. On the other hand the "educated" leaders like Cluseret and Felix Pyat, only muddled everything they touched and threw their departments into chaos. The I.L.P. and Fabian drove that the "intellectual expert" is required to guide the working class in its movement to emancipate itself is flatly contradicted by the history of the Commune. When it is recollected that the intellectual geniuses of the bourgeoisie require months to prepare even the simplest scheme of social action, the work of the proletariat in Paris, despite the mistakes made, shines sunlike by comparison. For it must be remembered that these actions were taken in circumstances of particular difficulty. Surrounded by hostile armies, both French and German; harassed by enemies within and without; with the services designedly thrown into the greatest confusion by the Government officials when they fled to Versailles, and above all, without time to develop or mature their schemes before they had to take part in the battle of the streets; yet they abolished night work in bakerhouses, annulled rent debts owing during the siege, stopped the sale of the workers' articles in the municipal pawnshops, and even started a scheme for running the factories and works in Paris by the employees on a co-operative basis. That symbol of tyranny and oppression, the Vendôme column, was pulled down, and the guillotine was burnt.

What a change came over the scene when Versailles gained the upper hand! Then commenced that ruthless slaughter of men, women and children—after the fighting was over—that should sink deep into the minds of the working class as proving the contempt and loathing they are held in by their masters, and how little the latter, despite their bleating of "humanity" and "Christianity," cared for the human lives that stood in the way of their retention of power to exploit and dominate the working class. One of the biggest mistakes of the Commune was its humanitarianism, its kindness to its enemies, even to the last moment. All these actions were taken for signs of weakness by the Assembly, and a more ferocious vengeance could not have followed had the Communards shown the greatest brutality. For, be it remembered, the wholesale massacre was stopped only when the ruling class feared a pestilence from the heaps of corpses which littered the city. Then deportation began, and thousands were exiled to inhospitable New Caledonia.

The working class must draw the lesson and allow hate to take a larger place in their view of their enemies, and when the time comes, to strike with all their might against their foes. In reality this is the most humane method. Had the revolutionaries of 1871 started by shooting Thiers and the whole Government of Defence, even though a bourgeois republic might have finally been established, it would have been with far less bloodshed than actually occurred.

Another lesson provided by the event is the necessity for sound organisation. When the enemy was within the walls then the suicidal Anarchist cry of "each man to his own arrondissement" arose. No one will deny that deeds of valour then took place, but these detached flashes of heroism were useless against the organised armed forces of the enemy. The other Anarchist nonsense, at one time called "direct action," and lately resuscitated under the term "taking and holding the means of production" by trade union action, is shown up in all its hideous fallacy.

Until the working class control the fighting forces any attempt to forcibly emancipate themselves by other means would merely result in the slaughter of unarmed men and women. But to obtain this control they must conquer political power. By this means and this means alone will the working class overthrow capitalism and all its horrors. And one of the most inspiring of the events, as well as valuable of lessons, in this battle will have been the Commune of Paris.

J. FITZGERALD.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

DEAR COMRADES.—In the January issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD there appeared an article under the head of "Municipal Politics" and signed "W." Upon that article I should like to pass a few comments, lack of time being my excuse for not having done so before.

In its Declaration of Principles the S.P. states it "enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties," etc.

In his article "W" evidently tries to prove that the administration of laws made by other political parties may be held to be consistent with this clause.

That is to say, S.P. members may consistently help to administer laws made by political parties against which their organisation has declared war.

For instance, the members of the S.D.P. and I.L.P. now in Parliament, may, with the assistance of the Liberals and Tories, place a certain law on the Statute Book. This law the S.P. will at the present moment deem as useless and mischievous, yet in the future, according to the article under notice, some of the party members may be busily employed in administering this very act.

It appears to me that to object to the making of a given law and then to conscientiously see that it is properly administered, is to give a new meaning to the word hostility.

The S.P. does not work directly to bring about Old Age Pensions, the Feeding of the Children, etc., yet when such proposals have become law he must see they are properly carried out! But if such laws are good enough to be administered by S.P. men, the principles they embody are good enough to be advocated by S.P. men—or so, at least, it appears to me. This will apply equally to any other measure.

I have frequently heard I.L.P. speakers enunciate precisely the same sentiments as those expressed in the article under discussion.

They claim that there are in existence many laws which, if properly administered, would tend to ameliorate the condition of the working class, and that it is, therefore, the duty of Socialists to obtain seats on the governing bodies for the purpose of getting out of such laws all that is in them.

I submit that to administer the laws better than they are now administered is a reform—a reform of administration.

To "insist on the futility of reform," and then to see that such reform is carried out "according to the Act," seems to me to be acting on the principle of exhausting all the possibilities of error before getting down to concrete business. There are many excuses to be made for a party which does not know its business, but for the S.P. to go on such lines—!

I am not now arguing whether the policy outlined by "W" is right or wrong, but I submit it is, so far as I can see, hostile to the hostility clause in your Declaration of Principles.

In conclusion I would like to ask "W" the following questions:

If a reform act, carried out to the letter, tended in any way to hurt capitalism, would not the capitalist central authority quickly interfere with its operation? If such reform did not hurt capitalism, of what use would it be to the working class?

If S.P. members on local bodies may there work in harmony with Radicals, S.D.P. and I.L.P. men, why may they not do so on the platform?

If S.P. members may help to administer capitalist laws why may they not help to frame them?

May members of the S.P. become J.P.'s, magistrates, judges, etc., if such positions should come their way?

If an S.P. man may help administer local affairs, why not national affairs also? That is, would he be allowed to take a seat in the Cabinet should an opportunity offer?

If he may do either of these, will he be permitted, as an official, to administer the affairs

of a Trade Union? If not, why not? Finally, will "W" explain the difference—if any—between the policy he lays down and that adopted by the S.D.P., I.L.P. and similar organisations?

As a Revolutionist, and as an admirer, hitherto, of the main policy of the S.P., I, and doubtless many others, would feel obliged to "W" if he would deal again with the subject in the next issue of the STANDARD.

Yours fraternally,
PHILPOT WRIGHT.

It was neither said nor suggested in the article under discussion that the Socialist was to see capitalist laws carried out "according to the act." The phrase Mr. Wright puts in quotation marks is a fiction of his own of doubtful honesty.

It is, therefore, quite irrelevant that an I.L.P. conceives it to be the duty of an elected member to administer existing laws to the letter; for the Socialist does not seek to use the powers of the municipality "to the letter," but only in so far as they can be used in the interest of the revolutionary working class, ignoring or fighting everything that cannot be so used.

There can, moreover, be no question of administration, even upon a local council, until the Socialists have the majority. Then only can they use, the limited "power, funds, and organisation" of the municipality, as far as is locally possible, in helping to complete the task of the workers in the capture of the central powers for Socialism, as shown. And this is very different from administering laws "according to the act."

Nor, indeed, was there any question of administration at all, except in so far as the use of the local powers as a weapon by the Socialist workers may be held to be such.

Since, however, the powers of local councils are practically limited to the use of laws defining their spheres of operations,—which are passed, not by I.L.P. or S.D.P., but by the capitalist class irrespective of initials,—it follows that to take any action within the framework of the local powers may be held to be the administration of local government acts. In this view, then, to do anything upon a local council is to endeavour to administer—either in the interest of the workers or of the masters—laws passed by the central power. But the Socialist Party, being a political party, is (as evidenced by its participation in municipal elections) prepared to use the local powers as a weapon in the great class struggle.

According to Mr. Wright to do this is to give a new meaning to the word hostility. To use legality in so far as it serves our aim in hostility to all sections of the capitalist class is to work in harmony with I.L.P., S.D.P., and Radicals. It can surely only be Mr. Wright's modesty that makes him stop at Radicals; for wherein do they differ from the rest of the master class as regards the workers?

The Socialist Party, moreover, is not to be turned from its endeavours by fear that the ruling class will use the force of the State against the municipalities in revolt, for the response of the capitalist class to the efforts of the class-conscious toilers cannot fail to fan still higher the flame of rebellion and hasten the day of complete victory.

But what appears to be the alternative to the policy that has been outlined, as adumbrated by Mr. Wright? It is to repeat empty, would-be-revolutionary phrases. To do nothing.

If one is not prepared to use the municipal powers, why contest local elections at all? Indeed such a policy leads directly to Anarchism, for does it not follow that if the use of local powers by Socialists is to work in harmony with capitalists, it is equally so to use the capitalist franchise laws to get a man elected? Such a policy is obviously absurd.

No verbal twisting can make the use of the local powers by a Socialist majority as a weapon of hostility in the class struggle be at the same time a working in harmony with capitalism. Mr. Wright, consequently, is wasting time.

Having set out to show that the policy of endeavouring to use the administrative powers of the municipality by S.P.G.B. candidates is contrary to the hostility clause in the Declaration of Principles, and having signally failed, Mr. Wright further shows his confusion by asking

nearly a dozen questions not one of which deals with the supposed contradiction he attempts to prove.

His thesis having fallen to the ground, it is unnecessary to waste space in following Mr. Wright in all his devious wanderings.

He claims to be an admirer, hitherto, of the policy of the S.P.G.B., but his present opposition, and indeed his every communication, has shown that he has never understood that policy. It is, then, not surprising that he should not know the difference between the policy outlined in the January No. and that of the I.L.P. The differences are, indeed, legion, and though it does not properly come within the scope of this reply, yet it may be useful to restate the essentials briefly.

The policy of the I.L.P. is based on Utopian ideas of universal brotherhood fostered by place-hunting politicians. It is opposed to revolution and does not work for the supremacy of the proletariat, while it repudiates the class struggle. It holds that what it calls Socialism is to come by a gradual accumulation of instalments, or "like a thief in the night." It promises and seeks support for reforms, which, if obtained, could only be gifts from the capitalist class. It keeps in the background the extremely limited nature of the powers of the municipality, and puts forward big programs, as in the I.L.P. manifesto on "A Commune for London," that are mostly quite outside the power of the municipality, and therefore fraudulent. It repeatedly bargains with, and seeks support from, sections of the capitalist class. In short, it is in no way a Socialist party, but is a party seeking only to modify capitalism and to harmonise capital and labour. And the I.L.P. is typical of the reform movement generally.

The policy outlined in the January issue is on the other hand the logical policy of the class struggle based on the antagonism of interests between capitalist and proletarian. It is a policy of war, and is inconsistent with any support of, bargaining, or harmonious working with, the capitalist class. It points out that no important amelioration can be obtained under capitalism unless as sops thrown by the master class in fear of extinction by revolution. It insists, consequently, that Socialism cannot come from an accumulation of reforms, but that the essential is the revolutionary step of working-class supremacy to which all else is subordinate. While the futility of the reform method is also proved by the fact that, until the workers are the ruling class, reforms are only the gifts of capitalism and therefore no concern of ours, and when the workers are triumphant, then reforms are stupid and unnecessary. It also shows the necessity of seeking support for nothing else than Socialism in order to secure a solid, class-conscious and revolutionary backing. It insists upon the extremely limited nature of the local powers, and therefore makes no false promises and raises no false hopes. It points out that while in a minority the only effective political weapon of the workers is the relentless opposition and exposure of capitalism; while when the municipality is captured, then its limited powers will be used in the workers' interest—and therefore of necessity in hostility to capitalist interests—not to lengthen the life of a rotten system, but as a centre of resistance in the struggle for supremacy and an aid to the militant working class. The Socialists will, in short, take all they can get in the open class struggle, and will use every suitable weapon to their hand in prosecution of the proletarian historic mission.

The policy of the I.L.P. is to divert the worker from the class struggle and from the revolutionary step, keeping him ever at the mercy of the capitalist, and as a wage slave within the capitalist system.

The other policy which has been sketched is that of a keen edged sword cutting through Society to the extinction of capitalism and the emancipation of the worker.

F.C.W.

IMPORTANT.

We have to announce that the continuation of Karl Kautsky's "The Capitalist Class," also an article by Paul Lafargue, and other important matter, is unavoidably held over until the next issue.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents must be brief. Communications must be authenticated by name and address of writer and written on one side of the paper only. The writers only are responsible for the views expressed.

TO THE EDITOR.

I.L.P. COMPACTS IN MANCHESTER.

Comrade.—In the last issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD Mr. Swan again charges me with "a deliberate lie" for stating that the evidence of a compromise appeared in the *Clarion*, and asserts that I have read into the *Clarion* letters, etc. "something they do not contain."

Let your readers note the italicised passages of J. Nuttall's letter and the amendment of Messrs. Hunt (Bradford) and Jones (Ardwick) to the resolution moved and seconded by Councilors Fox and Sutton, and then consider in what way the prospects of Messrs. Kelley and Clynes would have suffered by the introduction of a third Labour candidate in Manchester, unless by the Liberals opposing Kelley and Clynes.

Mr. Swan states that "certain verbal or written communications" can only form the basis of a compact, and he denies emphatically that any such communications passed between the L.R.C. and the Liberal Party. This denial proves nothing, especially as he does not seem sure as to the veracity of his denial, "if I am speaking the truth" writes Mr. Swan; "if" implies a doubt, or want of knowledge of the subject dealt with. As "verbal communications" may form the basis of a compact it would be a waste of time to trouble the local L.R.C.

The charge of using statements from the Liberal and Tory press without verifying them fails, as every reference in my first letter, with one exception—that from the *Courier*—was from the *Clarion*. Is Mr. Swan of opinion that the *Clarion* is a capitalistic newspaper?

I submitted the *Courier* extract in order that a refutation of the charge therein contained might be forwarded to the *Courier* office. Arising from that refutation we should see what information the *Courier* had at its disposal, and what facts formed the basis for the statement. The place to deny statements is through the columns of the journal printing them. That Mr. Swan has taken this course in the case of the statements in the S.S. I admit—will he do so with reference to the *Courier* extract?

If it be "stupid pugnacity" to bring forward what one considers evidence in proof of a statement, then I plead guilty.

I also desire to see the truth prevail, and on evidence being produced which disproves my statements will apologise through these columns.

The S.P.G.B. deem the L.R.C. one of the "mutual foes" to Socialism which Mr. Swan refers to, and that is why the L.R.C. are opposed and exposed.

The *Daily News*, Jan. 11th, 1906, stated—"The Labour vote is an important factor in most of the divisions, and particularly in those in which Mr. Balfour, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Galloway, and Mr. Schwann are candidates. If Mr. Horridge gets a large proportion of this vote Mr. Balfour's political association with Manchester will cease."

"At the recent municipal elections the Labour Party with the Liberal aid, carried all before them."

"In East Manchester Mr. Horridge has made great progress, and though the Socialists will not make any public recommendation, I have it on the authority of a well-known member of the I.L.P. that the Liberal candidate will get their support."

"The official Liberals intend to issue a manifesto urging the members of the Party to support the two Labour candidates, . . . if this advice is generally adopted, and the Labour men in the other four divisions vote for the Free Trade candidates, there should be a clean sweep of Toryism on Saturday."

The *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 12th, 1906, informs us that the Liberals advised their supporters to vote for Kelley and Clynes. The L.R.C. constitution, which candidates running under its auspices sign, contains the following words: (candidates are) "To abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the inter-

ests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties." Evidently the interests of the Liberals were promoted by only two L.R.C. candidates standing in Manchester, otherwise they would not have instructed their adherents to vote "Labour."

Having been elected by Liberal votes one understands why Kelley and Clynes are useless as Socialists in the House of Commons. They cannot go beyond their electorate and are therefore doing Liberal work whether they are paid for it or not. I cannot understand Mr. Swan's dislike to having his party alluded to as compromising with Liberals, as I and others have heard him say "It does not matter how they (L.R.C. men) get to Parliament, as long as they get there."

The only point of difference between Comrade Evans and myself is whether the arrangement at the election was "a compact" or a "tacit understanding."—Yours fraternally,
JIM BROUGH.

P.S. The *Daily News* (Jan. 15, 1906) also stated that "Mr. Clynes (Lab.) said 'The victory is due to a combination of forces, which, by their united power, had given a great blow to Chamberlainism, and paved the way in the coming Parliament for dealing with labour and social legislation of which the people were so much in need.'"

DOES THIS MEAN TORY GOLD?

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly insert the following in your next issue, for the information of your members, and Socialists generally.

A. JACOBS.

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS TO CONSERVATISM.

To the Editor of the *Saturday Review*.

25th October, 1906.

Sir,—In your interesting article on the attitude of Conservatives to Socialism you remark that "Conservatives have no need to be frightened from their own principles by the name of Socialism. If Liberalism has had to desert individualism, and come round to the conception of State action operative in any and every sphere of social and industrial activity, Toryism has not had to execute any such volte-face."

This is not the only right-about turn the Liberals have executed. After a prolonged and fruitless effort to cajole us into an alliance with them they now threaten us with a crusade against Socialism—a threat which we deride as we derided their proffered alliance. With characteristic confusion of ideas they have mistaken Anarchism—the logical issue of their own political faith, though they are not courageous enough to face that fact—for Socialism, and it is a significant circumstance that representative Anarchists like my friend Kropotkin, are constantly rebuking Socialists for their hostility to the Liberal Party.

Antipathies are more irreconcilable than hatreds. The Socialist opposes both Liberal and Tory because they are prepared to defend in common a position of economic vantage which which they occupy jointly and from which the organised workers will have to oust them before they can enjoy the social freedom which is the field of conquest of democracy. To the extent that Tory and Liberal alike are determined to preserve private property in the means of life, there is, from the Socialist point of view, no difference between them, though a distinction is not difficult to discover between our irreconcilable antipathy to Liberalism and the sneaking regard we preserve for a party that never embraced the doctrine of "everyone for himself and the Devil catch the hindmost." The Socialist attitude to Liberalism is one of unrelenting hostility; to Conservatism it is one of watchfulness. When the Tory Party is prepared to fight us we shall not decline the combat, and—God defend the right! In the meantime we are waiting to see how far you are prepared to go in such matters as the nationalisation of the railways or of mines. We share the opinion of your reviewer that "there at least as many if not more Conservatives than there are Liberals who would be prepared to go with the Socialists" so far. As a member of the Executive of the oldest Socialist organisation in this country I cannot pledge myself that it will call upon its members to vote Tory if your party adopts in its program those two planks, but I am perfectly

certain in which box Socialist voting papers would be dropped in constituencies where no candidates of our own are in the field. Liberal promises to support the same proposals would fail to catch Socialist votes because we know from experience the value of their election promises.

The difficulty about Socialism to which your reviewer refers "that it has so many different meanings" is more apparent than real. The root of the word indicates its meaning, but companionship can never exist between master and slave. Socialism seeks therefore to extinguish every form of servitude to which man has subjected his fellow-man. Wagedom is in some respects the worst form of slavery and we believe it will prove to be the last. We deny the title "Socialist" to anyone who refuses to assist the workers in their effort to emancipate themselves from wagedom, and we refuse it to the workers who hug their chains. Mr. Chiozza Money has been inviting us to drop the title and to be satisfied with that of Collectivist, which only proves that Mr. Money has not yet completed his education in Socialism. Socialists are Collectivists merely because we can discover no other economic basis on which to rear the Socialist superstructure.

The Labor Party in the House of Commons includes in its ranks a handful of Socialists but it is unkind to saddle us with any responsibility for the Radicalism and Liberalism of the majority, and by so doing your reviewer wounds our keenest susceptibilities. It took twenty years' active propaganda among the trade unionists before we could induce them to abandon their motto "No Politics"! and we cannot expect them to complete their education more rapidly than Mr. Chiozza Money is perfecting his knowledge of Socialism. They prelude the advent in the House of Commons of a social-democratic party whose influence will soon rival that exercised by our colleagues in the German Reichstag and in the French Chamber of Deputies. When we have pushed aside the Liberals we shall be ready to cross swords with the Conservatives. In the meantime we may continue to preserve mutual respect.—Yours faithfully,

J. HUNTER WATTS.

P.S.—The above letter appeared in the *Saturday Review*, 27th Oct., 1906.
The italics are our own.—[Ed.]

A RESOLUTION ON UNITY

AND THE SOCIALIST ANSWER.

Social Democratic Party,
Tooting Branch,
16/2/08.

Dear Comrade.—This branch of the S.D.P. considers that the time is ripe for concerted action on the part of all Socialist bodies in the Borough of Wandsworth in the matter of elections and propaganda. I have therefore been instructed to ask you to send two delegates to a meeting to be held at above address on Monday, Feb. 24th at 8, to consider the advisability of forming a Socialist Council on the lines of Battersea and elsewhere. Hoping you may be able to do this.—Yours fraternally,

J. BUCHART.

Tooting Branch S.P.G.B.
23/2/1908.

Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 16th inst. re concerted action on the part of ourselves and other organisations in the district and also asking us to send two delegates to a meeting called to consider the advisability of forming a local Socialist Council.

At the meeting of the Tooting Branch of the S.P.G.B. held on the 19th inst. your letter was considered and I was instructed to reply as follows:—

The Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Party of Great Britain at its formation in 1904 (a copy of which is enclosed) definitely lays it down that we are in hostility to all other political parties, and therefore the Tooting Branch of the S.P.G.B. believing those principles to hold as good to-day as on the first day of their adoption must decline to violate those principles by sending delegates as requested.

That these principles are amply justified from a Socialist point of view is easily seen without going further afield for evidence than the Bor-

ough of Wandsworth. On the 1st November, 1906, there was an election of Borough Councillors for the Tooting Ward. There ran three candidates on a Socialist platform with Socialism as their object and with Socialism as their election programme. There also ran three Labour candidates on whose election programme no word about Socialism appeared, but instead were more than 34 items, the carrying out of the whole of which would have left the workers where they are—in wage slavery. Both the S.D.P. (then S.D.F.) and the I.L.P. publicly supported the “in wage slavery” programme and therefore necessarily opposed the Socialist programme, thereby showing the difference in the object of the parties named and justifying the hostile attitude of the S.P.G.B. towards them. Obviously common ground for election and propaganda purposes does not exist.—Yours sincerely,

P. DUMENIL,
Branch Secretary.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N.B. (Manchester).—Since you hold that “The life and teaching of Christ himself were those of a Socialist,” you misunderstand both Socialism and the religion of Christ. The Socialist policy is outlined in our Declaration of Principles, and the contention is that these principles are irreconcilable with the cardinal tenets of Christianity. Can you disprove that?

J.B. (Hulme).—Thanks. Have made use of material where possible.

J.H.H. (Paris).—Thanks. Translation held over.

The Head Office of The Socialist Party of Great Britain is at 22, Great James Street, London, W.C.

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD AS USUAL

ON

SUNDAY EVENINGS

BY THE

Battersea Branch

(LABURNUM HOUSE, 134, HIGH STREET),

AT 8 P.M.

AND BY THE

EARLSFIELD BRANCH

On SATURDAYS at 8 p.m., at

Bridgman's Coffee Tavern, Garratt Lane

(opposite Burntwood Lane).

SUBJECTS TO BE ANNOUNCED.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN. ISLINGTON BRANCH.

= Grovedale Hall, =

GROVEDALE ROAD, ELTHORNE ROAD,
UPPER HOLLOWAY.

(3 minutes from “Archway” Tavern).

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8.30.

Discussions will be opened on the following subjects; the S.P.G.B. speakers taking the negative, and members of the different parties discussed are specially invited to attend:—

April 2nd—J. FITZGERALD:—

“Does the Tory Party deserve the support of the working class?”

9th—A. ANDERSON:—

“Does the Liberal Party deserve the support of the working class?”

16th—J. FITZGERALD:—

“Does the S.D.P. deserve the support of the working class?”

23rd—A. ANDERSON:—

“Does the I.L.P. deserve the support of the working class?”

30th—To be announced.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B. Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

CLAPHAM.—W. H. Evans, Sec., 16, Lockington Rd., Battersea Park Road, S.W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 at Sec's address.

EARLSFIELD.—J. McManus, Sec., 12, Burmister Rd., Earlsfield, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at Bridgman's Coffee Tavern, corner of Burtop Rd., Garratt Lane.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton, Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.

ISLINGTON.—H. A. Young, Sec. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—Jim Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance Street, Hulme, Manchester. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at Sec's address.

PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Wed. at 8.30

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 at Club.

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—T. W. Lobb, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd. Discussion Class, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

WATFORD.—T. Wilkins, Sec., 4, Marlborough Rd., Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, followed at 8.30 by discussion, at 447, Katherine Road, Forest Gate.

WOOD GREEN.—H. Crump, Secretary, 39, Hermitage Road, Harringay, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

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THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

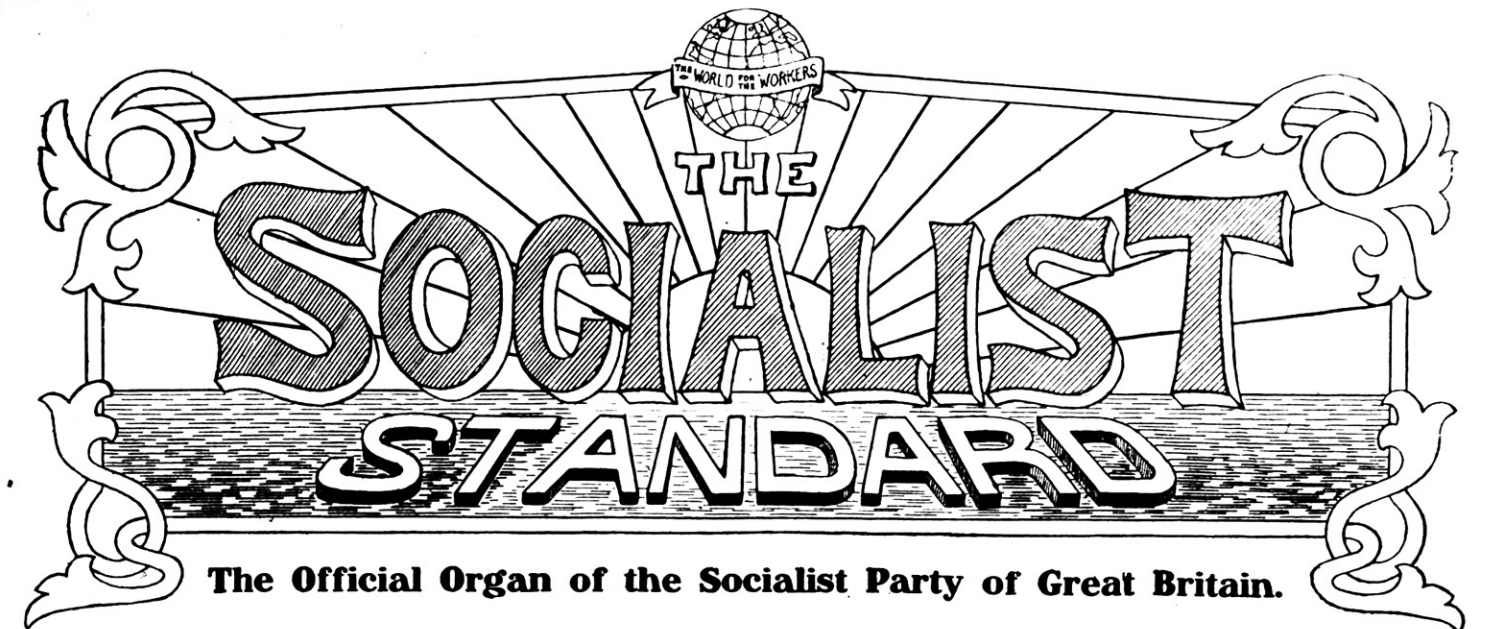
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 45. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, MAY, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

ANDREW Carnegie! Pierpont Morgan! Names not without meaning to the man in the street, but, to the Socialist, symbolic of something of far deeper significance than their mention calls up in the mind of the uninitiated.

Designative of types of two distinct orders of capitalist dominators, representative of two definite eras of industrial history, they bear incontrovertible witness to the truth of our scientific conclusion anent the evolutionary nature of capitalism. They are to be cherished as invaluable aids to the understanding of one of the most important lessons the workers have to learn; as raised letters to the blind, ocular demonstration to those who cannot hear.

As far as may ever be properly said of human kind, the men they nominate are makers of a page of history incomparably more pregnant of consequences to the world than any which chronicles the activities of royal hero or military genius—ancient lights or modern. They mark an epoch.

Their story will bear repeating.

It is common knowledge that at the end of the last century Andrew Carnegie was head of the largest steel rail factory in the world, an establishment with an output so vast that to state it is to court suspicion of extravagance.

Here the famous Scot had dominion over which his rule was complete; his word was law, his whim destiny, life and death his prerogative—as was shown when he had his workmen shot down by bargeloads of armed detectives.

Came Pierpont Morgan with new conception. Andrew's method of business was based on competition—the undercutting of rivals. The very essence of Morgan's system was the elimination of competition by amalgamating the powerful concerns of an industry, crushing the smaller, and then,—why then Competition had reached the end of the strife-strewn path that history had foreordained she should traverse, and is discovered taking her ease at last, sitting in peace "under her olive," suckling a sturdy son—Monopoly.

Andrew was asked to abdicate, and, like himself, refused. He would see Morgan hanged and Wall Street sink into the bowels of the earth before he would surrender his factory.

Did Andrew speak without due reflection? It would seem so, for, just as, when he declared the disgrace of dying rich, he underestimated the difficulty of becoming poor, hurling defiance at Wall Street, he depreciated the tremendous power opposed to him.

He quickly found that Morgan had control of the railways, and was therefore in a position of dominance; for without his consent not a rail could be freighted out of the vast Pittsburgh steel works. He quickly found also that the new conception did not wait upon the pleasure of the master of Pittsburgh; for if he would not submit to be bought out, then Wall Street would amalgamate the remnants of the industry against him and fight him out.

Here was a situation in which all Pinkerton's

army could afford Andrew no assistance. Those who threatened him were no longer working men, the natural defence against whom was the levelled rifle. No weapon existed to batter the forces of the financial monarchs, so Carnegie was a beaten man. He retired from the contest—made way for the "Billion Dollar Trust."

Now great change came o'er the land. Pittsburgh became a province in the empire of the Steel Trust; the seat of government was shifted to Wall Street; the sceptre had passed from the great ironmaster, acquainted with every corner of his factory, proficient in the technics of his art, supervisor of the operations of producing his commodities, into the hands of the great financier, who knew not what steel was. The position that Andrew had filled with majesty was now the place of a hireling—a mere foreman whose only princely semblance was his salary. Great powers of direction had been given to an employee, but control had passed for ever from the overseer of the productive forces, and had become vested in outsiders, whose utility or necessity the most subtle imagination fails to conceive.

Nor did the change end here. The strife of competition gave place to the peace of monopoly. In the field of steel production there was one master instead of many; in the field of steel distribution there was one seller instead of many. So peace reigned in the steel industry as it does at times in Russia under the soothing influence of the Czar's Cossacks.

All this marks an epoch in capitalism's evolution.

Not the first, be it understood, for the merchant prince was a ruler in his generation, even as the manufacturer has been in the days now slipping into history, and the financier is to be in the days which are to come.

Type of the dying past—Andrew Carnegie; type of the youthful present—Pierpont Morgan; where shall we seek a type of the yet unfulfilled future?

For it may not be doubted that the reign of this present capitalist dominator is transient, even as the others have been. That which has beginning must of necessity have end. Capitalism has not always existed, nor will. It has been revolutionary in its time, has risen against and dethroned its immediate predecessor—Feudalism: what is to dethrone it in its turn? Long since the manufacturer seized the baton of the merchant prince and pushed him from power, only to be himself thrown down in the fulness of time by the financial upstart: who is there left under the sun to unsettle this last?

The prophetic finger of Science points to him who even now stands in revolutionary opposition to the regalism of the financial Moloch and his phase of capitalism. For scientific inquiry has furnished abundant evidence that through all history power has moved in the direction of economy, of adjustment to the needs of the social organism, of ultimate advantage to humanity. The manufacturer has played his

useful part in production, as did the merchant prince before him in distribution, but what necessary place, in either production or distribution is filled by the financier? The final vestige of useful function has been relegated to an employee, who, however munificent his remuneration, remains a hireling.

Irony of fate—the only use the last of the capitalist rulers can have is to prepare the way for his successor. For long capitalism has been engaged in the lugubrious occupation of digging a grave: it has at length discovered that this grave is its own. For has not Pierpont Morgan himself announced that the function of his kind is to organise production in such form that it may be taken over by the community?

Capitalism is itself forced to be the educator of the revolution which is to shatter it to pieces. Its latest development, by separating entirely from the productive processes the owners and controllers of the means of production, is making very clear to the worker, what he could never believe before, that he alone is necessary to the creation of material wealth. Control of production, he begins to see, has passed to an order of men who can be removed without any industrial disturbance, and the growing knowledge of this fact pronounces the doom, not only of the phase of financial monarchy in capitalism, but of the capitalist system itself.

Wherefore that prophetic finger aforesaid, which must be pointing somewhere, could indicate none other than the worker as the successor of the modern capitalist. The needs of the social organism demand his rise to power, for it is impossible for that organism to continue to flourish while the vast bulk of its component cells are ill-nourished and stunted. Logic also demands that the worker become paramount, for it is the very antithesis of logic to produce goods for profit instead of for use, to have the producers hungry and unemployed because they have produced too much and glutted the market. Finally, history demands the supremacy of the worker; for why else has it provided this last of the long concatenation of changes which, starting by depriving him of the means of life as a necessary condition of their perfection to such as would afford him fuller subsistence and higher existence, end by offering him once again those means of life—radiant with their added wonders of fertility, and large with the promise of still greater wonders yet to be added unto them—if he will only stretch out his hand and take them?

The transition is so easy—merely the substitution of the old property condition for that which so long has played the usurper. Private property in the means of life must go. It has dug its own grave; it remains but for the workers to push it in and cover it up decently.

Then, with common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth the sound, sure and kindly basis of all human affairs—let come what will.

A. E. JACOB.

CONTINUED FROM MARCH ISSUE.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

3. PROFIT.

Now whence does the capitalist class draw its income? The owners of merchants' capital and usurers' capital derived their profit and interest originally by way of deductions from the property of persons dependent upon their assistance and mediation, and belonging to various sections of the community. The owners of industrial capital, however, obtain their profit by exploiting the propertyless wage-workers. But as the capitalist mode of production develops, so industrial capital gains the ascendancy over other kinds of capital, and subjects these to its service, as we have seen. This, however, is possible only by assigning to merchants' and usurers' capitals part of the surplus-value wrung from the wage-workers. Owing to this development the surplus-value produced by the proletarians became to a greater degree the only source from which the entire capitalist class derive their incomes. Just as handicraft and peasant agriculture lose in economic significance and decreasingly influence the character of present-day society, so do the old forms of merchants' and usurers' capital, which obtained their profit from the exploitation of non-capitalist sections of the community, lose their importance. To-day there are already States without handicraft and peasantry—England for example. But none of the modern States is thinkable without the great industries. Anyone desirous of understanding modern forms of capital must start from industrial capital. It is in surplus-value, which is produced by capitalist industries, that is to be sought the most important and increasingly prominent sources of all profit.

We have in the previous chapter become acquainted with surplus-value, which is produced by the industrial proletarians and appropriated by the capitalists. We have also observed how the amount of surplus-value produced by each worker is increased by adding to the worker's labour burden, by the introduction of labour-saving machinery and cheaper labour, etc. At the same time with the development of capitalist industry the number of the exploited proletarians grows and the amount of surplus-value going to the capitalist class increases by leaps and bounds.

But as unfortunately "life's joys are vouchsafed unmixed to no mortal," the capitalist class have to divide their surplus-value, although this dividing is most hateful to them; they must part with portions to the ground landlords and to the State. And the share taken by these two partners grows from year to year.

4. GROUND-RENT.

When we talk about the sections of the community who are becoming more and more the sole owners and exploiters, the monopolists of the means of production, we must distinguish between capitalists and landowners; for the land is a means of production of a particular kind. It is the most indispensable of all; without it human activity is impossible. Even navigators of the sea or air need a point of departure and landing. But the soil is also a means of production incapable of increase at will. Yet until now it has not happened in a large area that every bit of soil has been cultivated by its inhabitants. Even in China there are still large plots of uncultivated land.

Under the domination of peasant proprietorship in Europe during the middle ages the peasant owned his farm and agricultural land. Water, woodland, and pasture land were communal property, and uncultivated soil was so plentiful that everybody could be allowed to take possession of and cultivate such land as he had begun to bring into cultivation from the wilderness. Then commenced the development of commodity production with the consequence of which we have already become acquainted. The products of the soil became commodities. That reacted on the soil, which was also made a commodity possessing value. The single peasant communities and associations now endeavoured to restrict the circle of their members, and the latter began to regard the land they owned in common and partly (as in the case of forests and grazing land) also used in common, no longer as common property of the community and therefore inalienable, but as a kind of joint private property belonging only to the existing members and their heirs; property from which all members who subsequently joined the community were excluded. They were desirous of making the land a monopoly. But someone else came to covet the property of the community, namely the feudal lord, who had been the protector of the common property. If this property in land, that had become so valuable, was to be made private property, then he was anxious that it should pass into his possession. In most directions, especially where agriculture on a larger scale was developed, the feudal lord succeeded in seizing the peasants' common property. Peasant-hunting, the driving of some peasants from their homesteads, followed. Nearly all the soil, even that not under cultivation, now passed into private possession; the ownership of land became the privilege of the few.

Thus owing to the economic development, particularly to the formation of large property in land, the soil had become a monopoly long before the existing area for cultivation was exhausted, and much before overpopulation could have been talked about. If, therefore, the land occupies an exceptional position as a means of production because it is incapable of being increased at will, that is not in consequence of all the available soil being already under cultivation, but is due to the fact—at least in civilised countries—that it has already been taken possession of by a minority.

Thereby a monopoly of quite a peculiar character arises. While the capitalist class has a monopoly of the means of production, there is within the capitalist class no monopoly of certain means of production by certain members of that class—at least no permanent monopoly. Whenever a ring of capitalists is formed for monopolising a certain important invention, for instance, a new machine, other capitalists may always come along, who could also purchase this machine, or surpass the same by means of a new invention, or imitate it sooner or later. All this is impossible regarding property in land. Landowners have a monopoly not only as far as the non-possessing class is concerned but also from the standpoint of the capitalist class.

The peculiar character of property in land is developed most acutely in England, where a small number of families have possession of all the land, to which they hold on firmly, and do not sell. Whoever requires land obtains the same on lease for a certain rent called ground-rent. (Strictly speaking, "Rent" and "Ground-rent" are not synonymous. "Rent" generally includes a portion of interest on capital. For our purpose here, however, "rent" and "ground-rent" may be used as identical terms.) A capitalist desirous of having a factory or dwelling-house built, or of establishing a mine or a farm in England, cannot as a rule purchase the land, but may only rent the same on lease.

In Germany the capitalist is mostly also the ground landlord; the manufacturer owns the land upon which his factory stands; the mine proprietor is also the owner of the land in which the pits are sunk; while the owner of large tracts of agricultural land on the continent of Europe cultivates the same mostly on his own account instead of letting it to a farmer. When the capitalist carries on agriculture on his own soil, when he himself is ground landlord, he need naturally not share his surplus-value with another. But that does not materially alter the case; for he has, in general, only become ground landlord by paying to the previous owner of the farm a capital, the interest on which corresponds to the amount of ground-rent. Hence he pays the ground-rent anyhow, and in the one form as in the other it diminishes his profit.

But the monopoly character of landed property becomes more acute, the stronger the demand for land grows. As population increases, so the capitalist class becomes more in need of property in land. To the same extent grows ground-rent, that is to say, the total amount of ground-rent paid in capitalist society. The ground-rent of every farm need not increase. A farm yields under otherwise equal conditions the more ground-rent the more fertile and the more favourably situated (for instance, nearer to the market) it happens to be.

Into the laws of ground-rent we can, of course, not enter here. The opening up of new and fertile land can therefore cause the ground-rent of exhausted soil to go down; the ground-rent of newly opened-up land will, however, only grow so much the more. Thus improvements in the means of transit may depress the ground-rent of a nearly situated area in favour of a more distant one. Both cases have happened during the last two decades. American ground rents have risen, and indeed (in so far as agricultural protective tariffs have not acted in an opposite direction) at the expense of West-European ground-rents. This, however, only applies to land used for agricultural purposes. In the towns ground-rent is everywhere rising most rapidly; for the capitalist mode of production drives the great mass of the population more and more into the towns. Unfortunately by this aggregation the profit of the industrial capitalists suffers nothing compared with the growing physical and mental degeneration of the toiling masses. And here we encounter the housing of the workers as a new source of their sufferings; but this is not the place to enter into that.

[To be continued.]

AT ONE WITH US.

"For our party, and for our party tactics, there is but one valid basis: the basis of the class-struggle, out of which the Socialist party has sprung up, and out of which alone it can draw the necessary strength to bid defiance to every storm, and to all its enemies. . . . We may not do as other parties, because we are not like the others. We are—and this cannot be too often repeated—separated from all other parties by an insurmountable barrier, a barrier that any individual can easily surmount; but once on the other side of, and he is no longer a Socialist. . . . Just in this fact lies our strength, but that we are their deadly enemy, who have sworn to storm the Bastille Capitalism, whose defenders all those others are. Therefore we are only strong when we are alone."—LIEBKNECHT.

THE PEOPLE.

(Written in 1600.)

"The people is a beast of muddy brain,
That knows not its own strength and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and iron. The powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain.
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does, nor its own terror understands
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hands
It ties the gags itself, gives itself life and war,
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not, and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven."

—Father Campanella.

THE LAW OF VALUE

AND THE

DEARNESS OF COMMODITIES.

By PAUL LARFARGUE.

Economic materialism, or to be more exact, *economic determinism*, which allows us to explain human evolution and which provides a scientific basis for history, and the law of value, the key to the secrets of commodity production, dominate the theoretic work of Marx.

The law of value demonstrates that the value of a commodity is constituted by the quantity of human labour therein incorporated. Allow that, says the Belgian economist, Laveleye, and Marx will prove to you, with his iron logic, that capital is unpaid labour, stolen labour.

The law of value, which culminates in such a frightful conclusion, has been the nightmare of the economists; those amongst them who have any scientific pretensions have taken the field to overthrow it. All those who have attacked it have proclaimed, with as much exultation as the "socialist" intellectuals, who for this ten years past announce from time to time "the decomposition of Marxism," that they have demolished the law of value, although this does not prevent new combatants, judging incomplete and in vain the wrecking work of their forerunners, from going on the warpath to make mincemeat of it.

The law of value, which has victoriously withstood all the assaults of the economists, alone can explain the general rise in the prices of commodities, the cause of which has vainly been sought. I will try to demonstrate this.

To propagate communism, to organise the workers in a class party and to struggle for the conquest of the public powers—to study the theoretic work of Marx and to use the two powerful intellectual tools, economic determinism and the law of value, that he has put at our disposal for interpreting historical events and economic phenomena, are yet some of the best ways to honour the memory of the militant agitator and communist thinker.

The rise in the prices of commodities is general in the commodity producing countries of Europe and America; it is felt as far as China, which is scarcely beginning to enter capitalist civilisation. This rise is the more extraordinary as a general fall in prices would rather be expected, since, one after the other, industries are using more and more perfect machinery, which, in multiplying tenfold and a hundredfold human productivity, lower the prices of their products.

The dearth of necessities weighs heavily upon the workers, who, if they do not buy iron girders, electric machines, silken stuffs and other industrial products, live upon bread which should be cheaper, since the production of wheat, which forty years ago, was in France from 14 to 15 hectolitres to the hectare, is today, thanks to agricultural progress, from 19 to 20 hectolitres.

Newspapers and magazines inquire into the causes of this disconcerting economic phenomenon. The recognised defenders of capital, without bothering their heads very much, have unearthed the true cause; they declare unanimously that the workers' higher wages and expenditure for luxuries and holidays let loose the tide of rising prices in the capitalist world. This cream tart has not quite satisfied the economists, who attribute its loosing to gold.

Some say that the quantity of gold serving commercial transactions is insufficient, although it increases every year by half-a-million of francs. Gold being relatively rare, its price, according to the law of competition, should rise, that is to say that the same quantity of gold should buy more merchandise; and it is precisely the contrary; one must give more gold for the same quantity of merchandise.

Others pretend that gold abounds, that the mines of Africa and America have thrown so much of it upon the market, that its price, still according to the law of competition, is depreciated every day and that it is to stop this

decline that the Transvaal mining companies are trying to form a trust.

However, during these last sixty years, whatever has been the quantity of gold produced, it has always been immediately and completely absorbed by the needs of commercial transactions, of which the volume increases yet more rapidly than the amount of gold thrown upon the market. The American crisis precisely began by an insufficiency in the quantity of gold that the banks of New York and of the other cities had at their disposal; and in order to curb this financial crisis, which, as always, preceded the crisis of over-production, it was necessary to import from Europe all the gold available.

Nevertheless, it is in the variations of the value of gold that we must seek for the cause of the general rise in the prices of commodities.

Gold and silver, because of their special qualities, have been chosen from all the metals to be monetised and to serve for national and international means of exchange. The capitalist nations thought that once for all their values could be established in the proportion of 1 to 15, that is to say that 1 gramme of gold was worth 15 grammes of silver; and it is according to this proportion that they have struck their gold and silver money. For example, a 20 franc gold piece weighs 6.6 grammes, while 20 silver franc pieces weigh 100 grammes. But this legal proportion, guaranteed by the governments of the bourgeois nations, is a lying fiction, as are the institutions and the principles of capitalist society.

Melt down 3 one franc pieces and you will get a little mass of silver weighing 15 grammes; take it to a dealer in precious metals and ask him to exchange it for 1 gramme of gold; he will refuse—he will ask of you 36 grammes of silver for 1 gramme of gold; for at the current rate the kilogram of gold is worth 3,427 francs and the kilogram of silver 95 francs, that is, only one-thirtieth as much. And if he knows a little of the history of monetised metals, he will tell you that since 1833 the legal proportion between gold and silver has been real but once: in 1861; and he will add that from 1833 to 1864 the variations of the legal proportion were maintained within narrow limits; but that in 1872 began the fall in the value of silver, and that in 1876 an English commission was appointed to inquire into the depreciation of this metal.

VARIATIONS IN THE VALUE OF GOLD AND SILVER FROM 1833 TO 1908.

Years.	Gold.	Silver.
1833 ... 1 gramme is worth ...	15 gr. 41	
1840 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	15 gr. 12	
1852 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	15 gr. 09	
1859 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	14 gr. 70	
1861 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	15 gr. 00	
1872 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	16 gr. 13	
1876 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	18 gr. 56	
1908 ... 1 " " " " " " " "	36 gr. 07	

The values of gold and of silver then, are not fixed quantities, since they have continually varied in the course of three-quarters of a century. Why have they varied?

From 1833 to 1852 the value of silver falls, since one must give 15 grammes and a fraction of silver for one gramme of gold. During the period 1852 to 1859 the mines of Australia and of California had thrown their gold upon the market. An economist said that gold was depreciated by its abundance; however, in 1857 there broke out in the United States a financial crisis, because, as in 1907, there was not enough gold, because there was disproportion between the volume of business and the quantity of money capital necessary for the transactions.

But two years later gold goes up again and one must give 15 grammes of silver for 1 gramme of gold. And from 1872 down to our day the value of silver decreases constantly. During the period from 1872 to 1908, gold and silver have been produced in great quantity; it is then not their scarcity in the market that can have caused their variations in value.

The reasons given by the economists, therefore, cannot explain these variations in value of gold and of silver, which are explainable only by the Marxian law of value.

From 1833 to 1852 only the old gold and silver mines are worked and the methods of extraction remain the same, that is why the

values of gold and of silver are about constant. But from 1852 begins the working of the Australian and Californian gold mines, which being very rich, exact less human labour for the extraction of the metal; gold consequently loses value, while silver, which continues to be extracted with the same quantity of human labour, keeps its value. When the Australian and Californian mines become worked out, the extraction of the metal exacts more human labour, the value of gold goes up again and in 1861 gold and silver are at par, that is to say, their values correspond with the legal proportion.

From 1861 on, silver mines of extraordinary richness are worked in the United States and in Mexico and for the same reasons the value of silver falls, while gold keeps its value.

During the course of the last 75 years gold and silver have alternately lost value, because the metal extracted contained less human labour, as according to Marx's law, the value of all commodities of capitalist society, (wheat, precious metals, boots, cotton stuffs, etc.), is measured by the quantity of human labour that it was necessary to expend in order to produce them.

When in an industry the introduction of a machine reduces the required labour, not only the commodities produced with this machine lose value, but also, the commodities of the same industry that are produced without its aid: for the same reason the quantities of gold extracted in California and in Australia from 1852 to 1859 and the quantities of silver extracted in the United States and in Mexico from 1872 to 1908 have, not alone fallen in value, but have lowered the value of all gold and of all silver circulating in the capitalist world.

The exhaustion of the Australian and Californian gold mines, in rendering mining as costly in human labour as before, caused the value of gold to rise again; the working of the rich gold mines of the Transvaal with the aid of new mechanical and chemical processes, which reduce the necessary labour, together with the employment of Negroes, of Chinese and Hindoos, but very poorly paid, lowers once again the value of gold.

Silver money, which has lost 52.5 per cent. of its value, since a 1 franc piece is worth but fr. 0.475, is no longer employed in international exchange; it is current but in its own country because, like the bank note, it is legal tender and can be exchanged for gold money, which alone can be employed in international exchange, because gold is the monetary standard of capitalist nations.

But gold also has lost some of its value. The metallurgy of gold has been revolutionised in the Transvaal; it there combines in such a superior manner the resources of mechanics and chemistry that it is profitable even when quartz is treated which contains but a few grammes of gold to the ton. *Le Genie Civil* (Dec. 28 07), describes the great establishment for the working of auriferous quartz in New Kleinfontein which treats 280 tons of quartz per hour, of any grade, with a very reduced staff of "hands." Steam engines work three dynamos of 500 horsepower, two air-compressors for 75 perforating machines and the extracting machine. The quartz is brought upon an endless transporting band into the "mill-hoppers" of the crushing mill, where 200 stamps weighing each from 620 to 650 kilos crush it at the rate of 5 tons in 24 hours. The mud obtained goes through sieves which contain 100 meshes to the square centimetre; then it is conducted—still mechanically—on to the amalgamating tables. The residue of these tables—again crushed—and the auriferous mercury, are refined. The muddy water in which these mechanical and chemical operations have been conducted, are treated with lime and sodio-potassic cyanide, then filtered upon zinc filings which precipitate the gold. Water plays a preponderating rôle in the new chrysurgie (gold working) industry, which extracts even the least particles of gold from the quartz that it treats with an extremely reduced staff of hands.

One must, in consequence, give a greater quantity of gold than formerly for the same quantity of other commodities. It is, therefore, not goods that have increased in value, but gold that has fallen in value, because its extraction exacts a less expenditure of human labour.

Translated from *Le Socialiste* by J.H.H.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—"The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the first day in each month.

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The Socialist Standard.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1908.



A Word in Season.

May-day.
To all whose hearts beat true to the cause of oppressed humanity—English, German, Dutchman or Jew; black, white, yellow or red; without distinction of race or sex—fraternal greeting!

To all who suffer the torments of capitalist oppression, who hunger and thirst amidst mocking plethora, who are weary of to-day and apprehensive of to-morrow—English, German, Dutchman or Jew; black, white, yellow or red; without distinction of race or sex—fraternal sympathy and, this May-day message: Hope!

Hope, the eternal, the very spirit of May-day. It presided at the village festival in days when romance still dressed life in other hues than drab; it quickened the nimble feet of youth footing it on the green; it disputed with Time the unexpended years to the credit of robust middle age; it passed magic fingers over the seamed and shrunken visage of ripe maturity, blotting out the battle scars of three score years and ten. It was resurrected in every rising blade of green, and in every bursting bud.

And now, when the maypole is a tradition, kept alive only by novelists, and publicans' signboards, when promise of good crops gladdens so little those whose bugbear is a glutted market, when the brightness of Spring only accentuates the dinginess of modern existence, each recurring May-day still bids us—Hope!

Hope for the workers of the world;—but not, mind you, in indolent inactivity or feeble effort—there is no hope in that. Nor in gay procession or flaunting banner, or the passing of empty resolution. Nor in blind following after the loud, or uninquiring acceptance of the outpourings of passionate hearts. Nor in numbers, nor in barricades, nor in the heroic devotion of those who dare to "seal their faith with their blood." Nor in charity, or love, or justice, or the "inalienable rights of man." There is no hope here.

The hope of the workers lies in their Socialist knowledge. This only can strike the shackles off their limbs and take them up out of the capitalist house of bondage. This only can remove the barriers of national conceit and race enmity so strong for the upholding of this capitalist house of bondage. This only can save them from the blandishment of the all-promising misleader and the sophistry of the self-seeking demagogue.

For the study of social science teaches that if it is not exact truth that all men are brothers, at least it is certain that the workers of all countries are bound together by the bond of common interest, and that the struggle of the future is not between English or German, Dutchman or Jew, but between the workers of all countries on the one hand and the capitalists of the world on the other.

The study of social science also marks out the road to be followed with such distinctness that the wiles of the Jack-with-a-lantern are without avail. Everywhere the harassed workers are falling victims to place-hunting traitors trading on the name of Socialism. Such are particularly

prominent on May-day, with procession and banner, shallow as they are blatant, and promising everything—if you will only follow them.

Socialism can never be betrayed by such men: it is only Ignorance that falls a victim. A thorough grounding in economics, industrial history, and so forth is the sure eradicator of party "bosses" and political pimps. Only when the workers understand their own politics can they exact faithful service from those they elect to high places, or confer power upon them against the enemy. Therefore our appeal to you this May-day is, not for faith, for faith may be betrayed, not for following, for followers breed usurpers, but for your companionship in the study of working-class history, working-class economics, and working-class politics. For in this way alone can we realise the hopeful promise of May-day—the overthrow of the capitalist system of society, and the consequent emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

The Proletarian Revolution.

WHOLLY absorbed in the production of wealth and in the peaceful fight of competition, French capitalist society could no longer understand that the ghosts of the days of Rome had watched over its cradle. And yet, lacking in heroism as bourgeois society is, it nevertheless had stood in need of heroism, of self-sacrifice, of terror, of civil war, and of bloody battlefields to bring it into the world. Its gladiators found in the stern classic traditions of the Roman republic the ideals and the form, the self-deceptions, that they needed in order to conceal from themselves the narrow bourgeois substance of their own struggles, and to keep their passion up to the height of a great historic tragedy. Thus, at another stage of development, a century before, did Cromwell and the English people draw from the Old Testament the language, passions and illusions for their own bourgeois revolution. When the real goal was reached, when the remodelling of English society was accomplished, Locke supplanted Habakuk.

Accordingly, the reviving of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; it served the purpose of exaggerating to the imagination the given task, not to recoil before its practical solution; it served the purpose of rekindling the revolutionary spirit, not to trot out its ghost.

The social revolution of the nineteenth century, however, can not draw its poetry from the past, it can draw that only from the future. It cannot start upon its work before it has stricken off all superstition concerning the past. Former revolutions required historic reminiscences in order to intoxicate themselves with their own issues. The revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead in order to reach its issue. With the former, the phrase surpasses the substance; with this one, the substance surpasses the phrase.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliancy, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement.

Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the nineteenth century, criticise themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back to what seems to have been accomplished in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth and again to rise up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:—

"Hic Rhodus, hic salta!"

KARL MARX.

OUR FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

THE fourth Annual Conference of the S.P.G.B. was held at the Communist Club on Friday and Saturday, 17th and 18th April, 1908. Comrade Fitzgerald presided, supported by Snellgrove. Comrades Neumann and Anderson acted as Stewards, and Pearson, Hopley and Bigby as Credentials Committee.

The Report of the 4th Executive Committee to the Conference contained the following: "We are pleased to report a steady increase in the membership and influence of the Party. Over 170 new members have been enrolled during the year, and propaganda has been well maintained; a special feature being the large number of debates held with representatives of all sections of the enemy. The Manchester Branch formed during the year is especially active, and promises to prove a splendid base for provincial work. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has appeared regularly. The first 36 numbers bound in one volume has sold well. The 2nd Edition of the Manifesto has been sold out and the 3rd Edition is selling equally well. The issue of 'Art, Labour and Socialism' in pamphlet form has also proved very successful. A 2nd Edition of 'From Handicraft to Capitalism' has been issued and the second of the series is in course of production. Leaflets replying to the attacks of the anti Socialists and advertising THE SOCIALIST STANDARD have been extensively circulated."

The report was very fully discussed by the delegates, and finally adopted. Fitzgerald raised the question of the reorganisation of the Peckham Branch, questioning the wisdom of the E.C. in not excluding certain elements which had in the past made for disorganisation. During this discussion, Moses Baritz, the delegate from Manchester, presided, the vice-chairman being a member of the Peckham Branch. The financial Statement was adopted after being fully discussed. Snellgrove and Rose (Tooting) moved a resolution suggesting that branches guarantee to take quantities of the Party Organ proportionately to their membership. This was carried.

The Manchester delegate raised the question, on a motion of urgency, of sending speakers to take part in the campaign at Manchester. It was agreed to send representatives, and a collection to assist in defraying their expenses was taken up which realised £1 5s. 6d. The two amendments to the Rules from the Tottenham Branch were carried. The resolution from Wood Green urging the appointment of an Organiser was carried, the amendment from Manchester calling for a provincial organiser, being defeated. Two other resolutions, one calling for the appointment of a paid organiser, and the other suggesting the insertion of a summary of the minutes of the E.C. meetings in the Party Organ, were defeated.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD will, in future, appear on the last Saturday of every month, instead of on the first of the month as heretofore, the resolution to that effect from Tooting being carried by a large majority. All pamphlets issued by the Party are to be, in future, of a uniform size, the Conference agreeing to the resolution from Tooting to that effect.

The Conference then adjourned for tea and to make way for the Social to be held. The Social proved to be an unqualified success. Comrade Anderson presided and from 8 o'clock until 1 o'clock next morning the revolutionary representatives of the working class danced and sang to their hearts' content. The quantity of talent in the ranks of the Party surprised everyone. Financially, also, the concert should be a great success.

The Conference reassembled at two o'clock on Saturday and proceeded to tackle the remainder of the Agenda. It was first decided to take the item second on the agenda, standing in the name of the Battersea Branch: "That no Candidate of the Party, if elected, shall take the Oath of Allegiance to the Constitution." The discussion was opened on behalf of the Battersea Branch in a brief speech. Hopley (Paddington) opposed on the ground of triviality. Hutchings (Tooting), Neumann, Snellgrove (Peckham), Benford, Wren supported the proposition, while R. H. Kent, A. Barker and Fitzgerald

opposed. The Conference agreed to proceed to the next item which was to the effect that all Party business on which a vote is taken, voting shall be for and against. This was agreed to. The discussion placed on the Agenda by the Edmonton Branch, on the question of "Socialism and Religion" served to again bring into strong contrast the position of our Party as against that of any other party professing to be Socialist. In the discussion it was made plain that while it was unnecessary and undesirable to impose a test of membership on the subject, it must be clearly recognised that active Christianity was incompatible with the active participation in the Socialist movement. Pearson (Edmonton), Anderson, Neumann, Snellgrove, Jackson, Watts and Fitzgerald contributed, and the Conference agreed to request the E.C. to make the Relation between Religion and Socialism the subject of an early pamphlet.

The important subject remaining, viz., "The attitude of candidates of the Party if elected to any public body," was deemed too large to be adequately dealt with in the time then remaining and it was agreed to call a Party Meeting to discuss it.

The Conference was the most successful yet held by the Party and bodes well for the future.

NOTES AND CLIPPINGS.

Fred. Jowett, M.P.,—who signalled his career as a public man by bargaining with the Liberals for the exchange of support—has been giving what the *Clarion* is pleased to call "a Lesson in Political Tactics." The lesson does not consist, as one conversant with his actions would suppose, in an exposition of the gentle, if somewhat dirty, art of collecting "fly paper" votes. On the contrary, the member for West Bradford lectures the Scotch representatives on their "docility," pointing out that Irishmen have obtained concessions by reason of their militant attitude.

And how does this Political Bottom comport himself when confronted by the assembly which he so valiantly belabours on paper? Call a witness—Lloyd George: "There were only five or six Socialists in the House of Commons. Though some of them might make wild speeches outside, in the House of Commons they were thoroughly tame. They were there, tinkering up bills, and doing odd jobs of that kind in the Liberal workshop." Verily, the master class, relieved and amused at the nightingale "roaring" of the bogus lions, may well say "Let 'em roar again, let 'em roar again."

A paid organiser of the Independent Labour Party, speaking in opposition to a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, on the 12th of April, in Finsbury Park, said that he had had it on the best authority that Ramsay MacDonald had been offered a post in the government by Asquith, and his manly bosom "wisibly swelled" when he informed his hearers that the man whom Quelch says is out for the making of his own career, refused.

Query: Did the organiser expect him to accept? Had he done so, what would have been the position of the Independent Labour Party?

We pause for a reply—which we do not expect from officials or organisers of the I.L.P. An expression of opinion from any of the rank and file of that organisation would be warmly welcomed—and recorded—by THE SOCIALIST STANDARD. Personal contact with members of the I.L.P. has given more than one of us high hopes of the rank and file. Not a few who had been merely lacking in information as to the methods of their organisation, when enlightened by the mouth or pen of a genuine Socialist, have expressed deep dissatisfaction, which must lead to the inevitable discovery that false methods are the inevitable outcome of a false theory.

Anything short of the recognition that the emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the working-class itself, will inevitably

breed the particularly noxious species of parasite that lives upon its own kind, the sentimentalist whose attitude is an eternal compromise between broken-bottle-anarchy and we-are-all-brothers fatuousness, disappointment, disgust, and apathy.

The National Federation of Assistant Teachers—one of the six unions to which some fortunate pedagogues may belong!—is of opinion that "there is immediate necessity for an alteration in the salaries of assistant teachers." But alack and alas! the organ of the N.F.A.T. has discovered that "the earnest devotee of the scholastic art is as much a victim of the iron law of supply and demand, as any luckless wight of a miner, joiner, or bricklayer ever was."

The remedy proposed, of course, is the old, old Trade Union fake. Strive to create a corner in labour. Lesson the supply. In view of the fact that the "powerful" London Teachers' Association, represented on the London County Council by the late rejected of Peckham has failed to perceptibly influence the Council with regard to its policy of flooding the market with "scholarship" lads and lasses, bearing in mind that the parents who are only just able to send their children to "secondary" schools, feeling the "economic pressure" which is steadily squeezing them down, down to ever lower levels, are eagerly availing themselves of the opportunity to "place" their children, is it likely that the mop of Unionism can stem the advancing flood?

No hope, no light for the teacher until he recognises the fact that the "iron law" which binds him and the miner is but an expression of the fact that he and the miner, having nothing to sell but their labour-power, are wage-slaves, and that the united efforts of teacher and miner, joiner and bricklayer, are required to abolish wage-slavery. This is only possible by an organisation which shall embrace the whole working class. In a word, the basis of the workers' organisation must be class solidarity and class interests. Its tactics must be aggressive, and its aim revolutionary. Such an organisation (the S.P.G.B.) exists.

Mem. for "devotees of the scholastic art": *Socialist Standard*, June, '06: "The declared reason for the existence of the National Union of Teachers is the furtherance of the interests of the child. Is there not a danger that it may become the happy hunting-ground of the eloquent Party-man in a hurry to round his own life into a success?"

Daily Chronicle, April, '08: "Everyone rejoices in the deserved promotion that has come to Dr. Macnamara, who has worked with unstinted devotion for the cause of Liberalism."

Salary, £2,000.

Another mem. "N.F.A.T. Handbook," p. 57: "The following standard of salaries has been adopted by the National Federation of Assistant Teachers and the National Union of Teachers as a just and reasonable remuneration for Class Teachers:—

Metropolitan Men, Maximum, £220.
Women, do. £165."

Really, the humility of the average "class teacher," if the above may be taken as a true reflection of his opinion, "passeth all understanding." He deliberately rates his services at a tenth of that of his astute former colleague. How is this estimate arrived at? Will some of the younger members of "the profession" enquire? Why are a woman's services rated lower than those of a man?

A. REGINALD.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

"The Basis of Trades Unionism," by Emile Pouget. (Freedom Office). "The Unemployed Problem," by G. N. Barnes. (I.L.P.). "The Weekly People" (New York). "The Socialist Weekly" (Japan). "Labor" (St. Louis). "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago). "The Russian Worker." "Gaelic American." "The Keel" (Tyneside). "Freedom."

A SIMPLE STATEMENT.

SOCIALISM is a system of human society, based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be social property, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

That is no Utopian dream, but the necessary outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of an enterprise was impossible because the personal supervision and control of the owner was necessary to the success of any such enterprise. But we see to-day that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint-stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

To-day goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of things they need, but because there is more of them than those who produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the wealth produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased penury and suffering for the many. Under Socialism increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for recreation for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialists propose to do. The work of production is organised, socialised; it is necessary to socialise distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of to-day? The first thing necessary is to organise the workers into a class conscious party; that is, a party recognising that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class; recognising, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished and Socialism will be here.

FROM THE WATCH-TOWER.

"LIKE Mr. Chamberlain, he (Mr. Lloyd George) is essentially a middle-class statesman. Wales looks sorrowfully on. He has passed out of its narrow sphere. The Parnell of Wales has become the Chamberlain of England. The vision of the young gladiator fighting the battle of the homeland has faded. . . . It is proud of its brilliant son—proud of the first Welsh-speaking Minister to enter a British Cabinet, but it waits with a certain gathering gloom for its reward. Is it not thirteen years since he led a revolt against the Liberal Party on Disestablishment, and is he not now a chief in the house of Pharaoh? Once it has been on the point of revolt; but he had only to appear and it was soothed."—*Daily News*, April 11th.

The wirepullers of the capitalist parties are too astute to allow promising leaders of dissatisfied factions within their ranks to remain such. When they cannot cajole them, when they do not find it convenient to throw them a sop in the shape of a so-called reform, they find them a job and use them, whether it be the Lloyd Georges, or the Isaac Mitchells, to bully or to soothe those whom they once led.

It is very sad, but there is some hope, in view of events in the A.S.E., that the working class will shortly throw over these misleaders.

Mr. W. R. Trotter, of the Canadian Trades Congress, writing from Dragon Parade, Harrogate, sends to the *Yorkshire Post* copies of two letters received by him from the President of the British Welcome League of Toronto (Mr. A. Chamberlain), and an excerpt from the report of the Municipal Committee of the Toronto District Labour Council bearing on the emigration controversy.

In the first letter, dated February 21, Mr. Chamberlain says labour conditions in Toronto are worse than he has seen them during the 22 years' residence there, and he asks Mr. Trotter to "tell the workers of the old country to go slow about coming to Canada until those already here can be found something to do. Tell them from me not to listen to agents, or even the Salvation Army, for they would not be in the shipping business if it was not for the dollars they make."

In the second letter, dated March 6, Mr. Chamberlain says the labour conditions have not changed, and thousands are still out of work. He enforces this statement by mentioning that in reply to a test advertisement inserted in a paper for one day only by the League's secretary, 1,500 men wrote that they were prepared to go to farms in British Columbia. "My own opinion is," added Mr. Chamberlain, "that a halt should be made for a while, and an effort made to place the people already here into work before advising others to leave their homes in England to come to Canada."

The excerpt from the Municipal Committee's report calls attention to the unemployed problem in Toronto, and says: "Your Committee would further recommend that this Council places itself on record as holding the Manufacturers' Association and the Salvation Army jointly responsible for much of the unnecessary suffering among the unemployed of the city, many of whom are victims of the misrepresentation of these two organisations."

We also learn that the "Army" are appealing to the charitably disposed in Canada to relieve the distress there, meanwhile they are advertising to take emigrants to Canada because of the employment to be there obtained. The same old game. And the "unspeakable Stead" says the head of the Salvation Army, General Booth, is a Socialist! What has Mr. Stead's friend, the Czar, done that he should be left out in the cold?

May I draw the attention of I.L.P. branches to the fact that after 11 years the (Licensing)

Bill provides for Local Veto, which has so long been advocated by the I.L.P.? And may I also urge branches to at once take the matter in hand and follow the example of the Selby I.L.P. in support of this strongly democratic measure."—W. FARLEY, Selby I.L.P. in *Daily News*.

According to the program of the I.L.P. that body "demands" the Municipalisation and public control of the drink traffic, neither of which will be secured by the Government's Licensing Bill, either now or in fourteen years time. But probably the I.L.P. wire-pullers fear that if they oppose this "strongly democratic measure" they will lose some of the fat jobs they now secure talking twaddle in Nonconformist pulpits.

"Modern industry reckons on a reserve of the partially employed." *Daily News* leader, 14/4/08. Winnow a full column of the chaff of capitalist-nonconformity and a two line grain of truth is saved. But this grain of itself damns for evermore the Liberalism the *Daily News* is concerned to maintain as a dominant factor in the political arena. "The partially employed," is an endeavour to soften the harshness of the term, "unemployed." A reserve of unemployed is necessary to modern industry. Liberalism is the political expression of modern industry. Lloyd George, the bright particular star and the fiercest democrat of the present administration, has emphasized this sufficiently. Therefore it follows as the night the day that Liberalism, by standing for modern industry, must stand for the maintenance of the reserve of unemployed upon which modern industry depends. Thus we arrive at the unalterable position of Liberalism upon the question of the unemployed, with which, among other things, the present Government proposes to deal at some time or the other. The value of its proposals in this connection may therefore be very adequately appraised beforehand. They will represent the exact equivalent of nothing.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR Comrade,—As an instance of I.L.P. valour, the following facts may be interesting.

Mr. A. Woolerton (I.L.P.) having informed me that he was willing to debate his position against that of the S.P.G.B. "with the best man" we had, "in any hall, at any time," I introduced the matter at our branch meeting.

I, as secretary, wrote accepting his challenge, and asking him to lay the matter before the branch of the I.L.P. to which he belonged. The E.C. of our party gave permission to Comrade Baritz to debate with Woolerton.

I saw Mr. Woolerton at the Coal Exchange on Jan. 5th, when he wished to inform me verbally of his decision. I asked him, however, to communicate by letter as it was branch business. Having enclosed a stamped envelope in my letter, I wrote a post-card on Jan. 27, asking when I could expect an answer.

Comrade Baritz having been informed by Mr. Woolerton that he had replied to my letter, I sent the following letter to Mr. Woolerton:—

Our Comrade Baritz informs me that you told him you had replied to my letters asking you to debate with our organisation.

As no such letter has reached me, I enclose a missing letter form which, when completed, can be forwarded free of postage to The Secretary, G.P.O., London. You only can fill in the particulars required as to time and place of posting. On receipt of this form at the G.P.O. they will forward an acknowledgement to you of receipt on a form used for this purpose.

If you will kindly show or send me the form of acknowledgement I will consider the letter has been posted. Failing this, or a copy of your letter, I can only conclude you have not posted same and act accordingly.—Yours sincerely,

JIM BROUGH.

I can only conclude that Mr. Woolerton has not sent any letter to me, or that the letter (if sent) has miscarried. If the latter be the case he is either not sufficiently interested in his misadventure to make enquiries concerning it, or not man enough to send a copy of the original.

Thanking you in anticipation of insertion.—Yours fraternally,

JIM BROUGH.

AMERICAN PARTIES AND THE UNITY QUESTION.

For the information of readers whose knowledge of the "Socialist movement" is limited, a few explanations may be helpful before dealing with the subject under discussion.

The *Weekly People* is the organ of the Socialist Labour Party of America—an organisation claiming to be "a bona fide strictly revolutionary party of Socialism." Until its unfortunate "endorsement" of the "Industrial Workers of the World," such a claim could be well sustained.

The latter organisation (I.W.W.) declares as its object "the propagation of the principles of Industrial Unionism with a view to the establishment of an organisation based on the 'class struggle' and aiming at the overthrow of the Capitalist system and the establishment of a Socialist Republic."

The "Socialist Party" of America is a curiously motley conglomeration of "Socialists" of all shades and hues. Like the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, it is dominated by "leaders," whose main concern is to gain seats—anyhow, on any kind of vote—in the Parliamentary body which they affect to believe will be induced eventually to "legislate" away the privileges of the class which maintain army, navy, and police to conserve such privileges; the S.L.P. of America had hitherto consistently opposed the S.P. of America in that vigorously picturesque style which their British comrades (the S.L.P.) seek vainly to imitate.

But the S.L.P. of America has recently clamoured for "Unity." Its National Executive Committee resolved, among other things, "That if conference succeeds in agreeing on conditions for uniting the two parties, steps be immediately taken that one joint National Convention be held to adopt a platform, constitution and resolutions, to nominate candidates, etc."

The S.P. of America has unceremoniously—through their Executive, without consulting the rank and file on such a momentous issue, quite in the style of the secret junta which "guides" the S.D.P. of England, rejected the overtures.

The *Weekly People* of March 28th contains an article entitled "Unity" from the pen of its editor, the veteran fighter, De Leon.

It is significant of much that the editor of the official organ of a party which—rightly enough—urges the necessity of "discipline" should in that organ, through seven good fat columns, assert that his contribution is "independent." "I speak from this independent platform as one of the many people active in the Socialist movement. I do not here represent the S.L.P."

It is unnecessary to do more than quote from the report of a meeting held "under the auspices of the S.L.P." on the 11th March in New York, to show the utter confusion that reigns since the birth of the S.L.P.'s unfortunate offspring—the parentage of which it now vainly endeavours to repudiate. The lecturer stated "De Leon showed an absolute lack of knowledge of Industrial Unionism." De Leon—unwittingly endorsing our declaration in the Manifesto with regard to "Industrial Unionism,"—charged the lecturer with using the language of "veiled dynamism," that is, of enunciating the principles of Anarchy.

Now what bearing have these things on the "Unity" question? They constitute the very germ and essence of the question as it affects the S.L.P. De Leon bases his argument for "unity" on the ground, mainly, that the Stuttgart International Congress has "thrown a bridge across the chasm" which separated the warring American factions the tropic, an you please, is De Leon's! The declaration was "seriously defective," nevertheless, in a new-found fervour of loyalty to a Congress which includes "Socialistic" freaks of all descriptions—including "the Rudimentary Zionist-Socialists," he sees the hope of uniting for common action. "Militant Socialism to-day sees in Unionism a fact of greater moment to the Revolution than the conquest of a few seats in the political parliaments." "Therefore, walk into my I.W.W. parlour (it isn't really my parlour, you know) and we can compose all our little differences.

WHAT DID WELFORD SAY?

POVERTY: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. A Reply to Dr. G. F. Welford's "Socialism." By A. E. Peters and A. W. Kersey. The Palmerston Press, Tiverton. 1d.]

The opening sentence of this pamphlet says: "the writers are both young men in their early twenties," so the Editor decided to hand it to a young man also in his early twenties to handle in *The Socialist Standard*. We are unfortunate, however, in not having seen the statements to which it is a reply; for however good it may be as a reply to Dr. Welford, it is most certainly not a good exposition of the principles of Socialism, nor is it by any means an adequate statement of the cause and cure of poverty.

We are left to imagine the circumstances that called it forth, but we glean something like this. Dr. Welford, of Tiverton, fulminated against Socialism, although whether in the Press or on the platform we are not told. Two young men in the district with socialistic tendencies take up the cudgels in defence. Hence the pamphlet under consideration which bristles with points we should be inclined to challenge, and which propounds some flagrant heresies in the name of Socialism.

In discussing the causes of poverty, these are placed under the heads of Insufficient Production, Waste, and Unequal Distribution, and the poverty at present prevailing is attributed to all three. To us the last is alone sufficient to explain our poverty problem, for poverty does not afflict Society as a whole but only a portion of it. And this class nature of modern capitalist society is entirely overlooked by our authors, with the result that the class-struggle, the central guiding factor of the Socialist movement, is ignored. The poverty of the working class is not due to insufficient production, nor to waste, but simply and solely to robbery. The workers produce too much and glut the markets and never get the chance to waste anything to set the market free again. Neither of these factors then can be the cause of their poverty.

The most important portion of the pamphlet, however, is that which explains how Socialism will be established, and here the situation is very imperfectly grasped. The idea of a Socialist government being able to socialise all industries is characterised as absurd, and the counter-idea is put forward that each industry will be socialised by the government getting a fresh mandate from time to time. To us the return of a Socialist government would mean the expression of a majority of opinion in favour of the abolition of capitalism, i.e., the abolition of private property in the means of living; and the work of a Socialist majority would be to carry out that mandate. That a majority of opinion would be in favour of Socialism and at the same time in favour of Capitalism is incomprehensible. The difficulty of our authors, I suspect, is the same as that of the so-called "Socialists" in the Labour Party, who do not represent a majority of opinion in favour of Socialism in their constituencies.

The class-struggle is openly repudiated when they say "the method of Socialism is not to try to force the will of one class upon another class." The method of Socialism must be, and can only be, the working class expressing its determination not to be exploited any longer, and it is extremely doubtful that the exploiting class will agree with them. The working class is in opposition to the capitalist class and cannot be successful until it has educated itself and organised its forces to be powerful enough to overthrow the political representatives of capitalism and force its will upon them.

The final portion discusses the outlook for Socialism, and we observe the Labour Party is included among the list of parliamentary groups of various nationalities as representing Socialism. Again we should not agree. The Labour Party is most emphatically in no way representative of Socialism, and it is quite untrue to say that each of the workers they represent is a worker for Socialism. We should be more inclined to agree with the actual conclusion if it were correctly quoted, as follows: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" D.K.

H. G. WELLS ON THE HOME.

[WILL SOCIALISM DESTROY THE HOME? H. G. Wells. I.L.P., 1d.]

Two points are introduced in this pamphlet, with both of which we disagree. The first is the idea of remuneration under Socialism being relative to the size of the family. The second is the suggestion of municipal baby-farm for children of unworthy parents.

With regard to remuneration, all Socialists will object to the proposal "to make a payment to the parents for their children."

Prognostics in the name of Socialism as to how the family after the revolution will be constituted, need a sound recognition of the basic principles of Socialism and of science generally, for even approximate accuracy. We have no evidence that Mr. Wells possesses any such recognition. Although he soundly criticises the existing system for the difference between the family as it is commonly supposed to be, and the family as it is, yet he fails to indicate the causes which have produced the difference. Those causes are economic and have been traced in the second part of *Das Erfurter Program* published under the title of "The Working Class," shortly to appear as the fourth of our pamphlets, nor has the economic base of the impending change been made of sufficient clearness. Yet only by this means can an insight be had. The main factor would seem to be the complete freeing of women from economic dependence on men. This means the freeing of love from the influence of social position and the cash nexus, and a corresponding increase in the importance of the mutual consent of both parties to a marriage, whatever form that marriage takes.

The ability or worthiness of the parents need never be questioned, as the factors which to-day promote unworthiness will have gone, while the wilful neglect of children by parents able to attend to them would, under Socialism, probably indicate the necessity for the services of a mental physician! Just as the other bugbear to the non-Socialist—the won't work—will probably be a subject for similar treatment.

The brief historical sketch of the family with which Mr. Wells concludes, might easily have been made fuller, and for the purposes of the pamphlet carried a little ahead with more definiteness. For the rest it is an interesting speculation, admirably written, but it does not get far enough away from the idea of State baby farms and State boarding schools to satisfy those to whom "uniformity" and "regeneration" are as objectionable as ever they were.

R.H.K.

SOCIALISM?

[SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE. Richard Higgs. I.L.P., 1d.]

The title of this pamphlet is a mere catchpenny. The only heading it merits is that of "Capitalism and Agriculture," for the author's idea of Socialism is purely that of capitalist collective enterprise. The first word in the title might therefore with advantage be obliterated, for the discussion of wages, of present municipal farms, and of other aspects of capitalism is not the discussion of the relation of Socialism to agriculture, which, indeed, the author does not deal with at all. This is typical of the I.L.P. and of its publications; and its writers and speakers would be better employed in studying Socialism rather than giving that title to a certain phase of capitalism.

The author says "The Farming land is the key to the problem of poverty," and that when a considerable portion of farming land comes under the control of the people "a living wage will be paid; a regular supply of skilled labour will be available at all seasons and a six days week and the eight hour day will become possible." This is the author's idea of Socialism. It is nothing but the old middle-class cry of "back to the land." At present it is the first duty of a Socialist to make Socialists, and that requires a knowledge that is lacking in the author of the present pamphlet and by the organisation that has published it.

B.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.

	3rd	10th	17th	24th	31st
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 J. E. Roe	J. MacManus	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe
Clapham Common	7.30 A. Reginald	T. W. Allen	J. MacManus	J. E. Roe	A. Reginald
Earlsfield, Thomsett Rd.	3.30 T. A. Jackson	A. Reginald	T. A. Jackson	J. MacManus	T. A. Jackson
Walham Green	11.30 P. Dumenil	H. Joy	T. A. Jackson	G. H. Smith	J. MacManus
Finsbury Park	11.30 J. MacManus	J. E. Roe	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	P. Dumenil
Paddington, Prince of Wales	3.30 A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald	R. H. Kent
Manor Park	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	G. H. Smith	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen
Ilford, Roden Street	11.30 W. A. Cole	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother	W. Kennett	W. A. Cole
Tooting Broadway	7.30 W. Kennett	E. Fairbrother	W. A. Cole	H. C. Phillips	W. Kennett
Peckham Rye	11.30 T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	J. MacManus	P. Dumenil	H. J. Newman
Tottenham, West Green Ctr.	7.30 J. Crump	J. MacManus	J. Crump	T. A. Jackson	J. Crump
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	6.30 H. Newman	J. E. Roe	J. Crump	H. J. Newman	T. A. Jackson
Walthamstow, Bell Corner	11.30 F. C. Watts	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts	F. C. Watts
	7.30 A. Pearson	T. A. Jackson	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	H. J. Newman
	11.30 A. Pearson	J. Crump	R. H. Kent	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
	7.30 R. H. Kent	G. H. Smith	A. Pearson	A. Anderson	G. H. Smith
	7.30 A. Anderson	R. H. Kent	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson

PROFIT versus WAGES.

MANY railway stocks have (1) been deliberately watered, and (2) risen in price on the market, so that while railway men are badly paid, the present holders of the stocks are apparently making small profits. Many railway companies have enlarged their ordinary capital by the delightfully simple process of multiplication by two. £100 of original stock has been changed into £100 of "preferred" and £100 of "deferred." This has not been done behind the scenes, but boldly and with the permission of our rich men's parliament. As a consequence it is made to appear that the net receipts of railways are only about 3½ per cent. of their "paid up" capitals. But the nominal capitals have not been "paid up"; and even in so far as the original capital is concerned much of it is unreal. Thus the magnitude of the injustice which they suffer is hidden from railway servants. They risk their lives for the public every day and what do they get for it? In 1904, the 27 leading railway companies paid in wages only £29,000,000 or only 25/- per employee per week! These 27 companies own nearly all the railway lines, employ nearly all the railway servants and make nearly all the profits assessed by the Inland Revenue Commissioners. And what do these profits amount to? As I have shown, they amount to nearly £40,000,000 per annum, or far more than is paid in wages in one of the most dangerous and most useful of all occupations.—CHIOZZA MONEY, M.P., in "Riches and Poverty."

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

T. SWAN (Manchester)—Later.

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD AS USUAL

ON

SUNDAY EVENINGS

BY THE

Battersea Branch

(LABURNUM HOUSE, 134, HIGH STREET),

AT 8 P.M.

AND BY THE

EARLSFIELD BRANCH

On SATURDAYS at 8 p.m., at

Bridgman's Coffee Tavern, Garratt Lane

(opposite Burntwood Lane).

SUBJECTS TO BE ANNOUNCED.

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ISLINGTON BRANCH.**= Grovedale Hall, =
GROVEDALE ROAD, ELTHORNE ROAD,
UPPER HOLLOWAY.

(3 minutes from "Archeway" Tavern).

**A SOCIAL will be held on Thursday,
May 7th at 8 o'clock at above hall.**

TICKETS 6d EACH.

Printed by A. Jacomb, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and published at 22, Great James Street, London.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—J. MacManus, Sec., 12, Burmister Rd., Earlsfield, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at Bridgman's Coffee Tavern, corner of Burtop Rd., Garratt Lane.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.

ISLINGTON.—All communications to Sec. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—Jim Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance Street, Hulme, Manchester. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at Sec's address.

PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Wed. at 8.30

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Thursdays at 8 at Club. Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Goring Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—T. Wilkins, Sec., 4, Marlborough Rd., Watford. Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, followed at 8.30 by discussion, at 447, Katherine Road, Forest Gate.

WOOD GREEN.—H. Crump, Secretary, 39, Hermitage Road, Haringay, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

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THE**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

..... Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

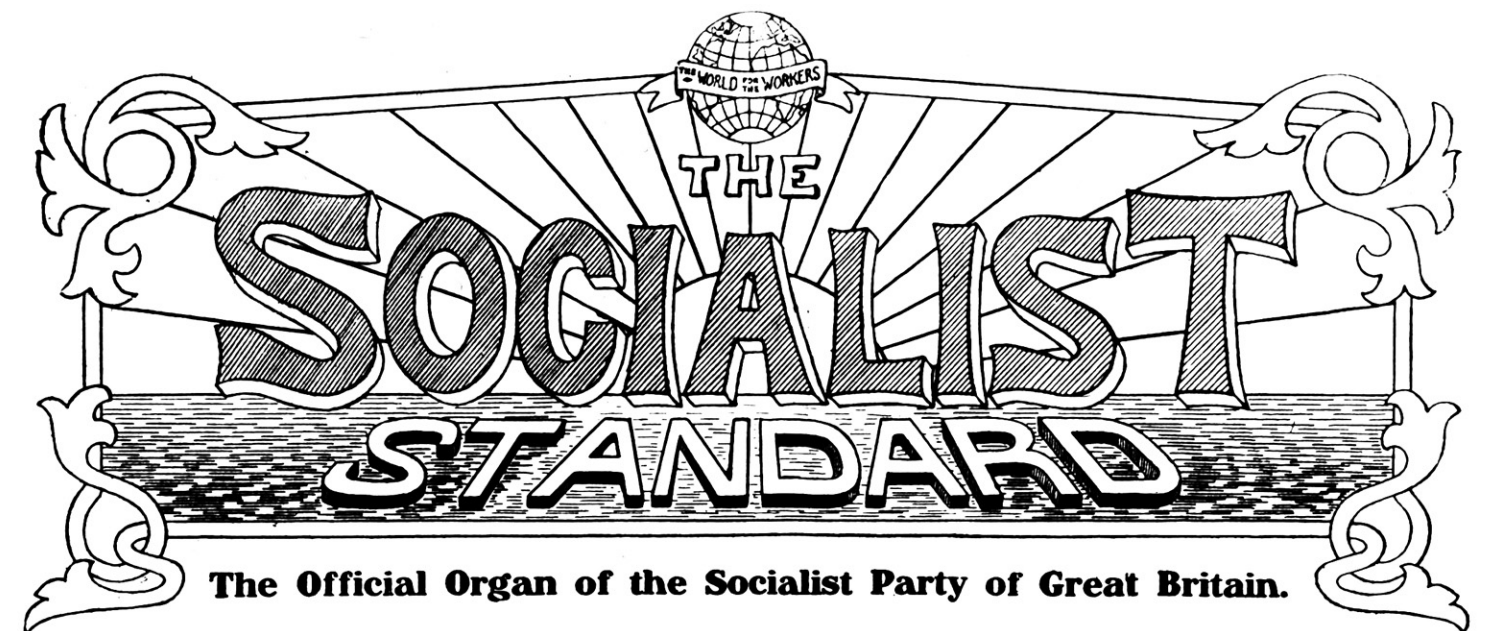
Address.....

.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 46. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, JUNE, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

The Development of Socialism in England.

AND
THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

If you wish to fix the responsibility for the growth of the Socialist movement in England, you have only to go to the organs of the various parties claiming to stand for working-class interests, and your thirst for definite knowledge is immediately slaked. The policy of the Independent Labour Party, says the *Labour Leader*, has been and is the most potent factor in the development of the Socialist idea. The work of the Social-Democratic Federation made Socialism possible at all, says *Justice*. To the *Clarion* is the credit mainly due, says the modest, unassuming editor of the *Clarion*. If there is one organisation more than another that has made Socialism a live issue it is the Fabian Society, says Bernard Shaw, the "organ" of that pseudo-intellectual body; while a writer in the *New Age*, a "Socialist" paper standing for the interests of a couple of rather bumptious young "Shavers" (a term preferable to "Shavians" as descriptive of the admirers of the great and one and only G.B.S.), has discovered that "the *Daily Mail* in six months taught the English people more Socialism than all the Marxist and Reformist teachers had expounded in half a century."

So once more you pay your penny and accept whichever assertion you prefer; although if you are already a Socialist you will know that neither statement is true. The Socialist idea has developed through the increasing

PRESSURE OF ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCE

operating to the detriment of working-class well-being, and producing in the working-class mind a spirit of revolt to which the Socialist propagandist has made appeal with the irrefutable logic of his message.

These Socialist propagandists may have been in all the organisations mentioned or in none of them. But if they were in those organisations they have the satisfaction of knowing that the Socialist idea has not developed in England in anything like the degree it might have done if the organisations had not existed at all. Our Socialist propagandist attached to one of the bodies referred to will of course not agree with me—unless he is prepared to sit down and weigh the matter up calmly and dispassionately. Then he must see that the appeal of his advocacy of Socialism has been largely, and in many instances entirely, nullified by the association of himself with his organisation, and the association of his organisation with proposals that, like the flowers that bloom in the spring, tra la, have nothing to do with the work of a Socialist party as such. These proposals, "palliatives" as they are called—offer no explanation of the economic hardship the worker is in revolt against; they would leave him, as a class, in exactly the same position as he was before, even if they were, after much labour, realised; and they are piled upon his attention in annual

multiplication, until the Socialism which the Socialist propagandist set out with a high heart and in all honesty to preach as

THE ONLY THING THAT MATTERED, has receded to a position of comparative unimportance. Socialism has become a matter of no immediate moment. The wood is obscured by the trees. The stepping-stones (which are not necessarily stepping-stones at all) have smothered the goal they are supposed to be leading to.

It is all very well for our Socialist propagandist, tied up to an organisation of the kind referred to, to protest that his party is out for Socialism "same as us," and that therefore the only question at issue is one of method. The protest simply evades the point. It does not meet it. The point is that Socialism is the only thing that matters to a Socialist party; that the Socialist is therefore entirely concerned to induce the working class to accept the same conclusion; that if he is not doing that he is fostering an illusion—because he must know well that all the palliative mongering in the world doesn't matter tuppence from a purely working-class point of view. All the proposals on all the "reform," "stepping-stone," "half-loaf" programmes that muddle-headedness ever gave birth to, while they might palliate a little hardship here or there, wouldn't necessarily advance the revolutionary idea; wouldn't necessarily make a single Socialist. Whereas, if attention was entirely concentrated upon Socialism, and all energies were directed to the organisation of the working class upon the lines of distinctive class interests, the political heavens would simply

RAIN PALLIATIVES.

Isn't that obvious from the statements repeatedly appearing in the press of the capitalist parties? "Social Reform, a policy of sound constructive proposals for the amelioration of the admittedly hard lot of the deserving working population must be our object," "against the principles of Socialism only the confidence of Labour in the determination of the Government —," etc., etc., etc. The phrases are familiar enough. What is the first thing a Government in a funk sets itself to do? It flings out a half-loaf to the "deserving working class," or rather it breaks the half-loaf into crumbs and holds them ready to throw. That is generally good enough. When it isn't they are thrown out—one at a time.

You can make a lot of crumbs out of a half-loaf. And it takes a long time to throw them all out. Not that it would matter much if they were all thrown out at once. Altogether, they will only make a half-loaf; and as somebody said somewhere, "We are after the whole damned baker's shop!"

Very well. What do we want to palter and

fritter our time and energy away on crumbs for? Let's go for that baker's shop. Let's upset the complacency of the profit-spinners and put a holy terror into their souls for a change. It will be worth while. As it is they sit quite calmly, holding the key to our baker's shop, and laugh—how they must laugh—while you, my friend of the S.D.P., I.L.P., or whatever it is,

WASTE YOUR SUBSTANCE

in riotous advocacy of the things that don't matter. The working class cry for the bread of Socialism, and you offer them—a stepping-stone. Or if you don't personally, your organisation does. And that's what I mean when I say that it would have been better for you and your work for Socialism if your organisation had never existed. You have preached the pure milk of the word, and your organisation has come along and watered it. And I hope you are properly grateful.

Yes, Socialism has advanced in England somewhat. That is undeniable except by those who are interested to maintain present conditions. And they only deny it with their mouths. And because of this, all the parties are rushing in to claim credit for the result—especially those who have contributed least to it.

So that even in this they are at sixes and sevens. Even in this, supposing them inquisitive enough to refer to their party organs for information, the workers would be confused. Each of them has been the "principal factor," and neither of them is right! The Socialist idea has developed in spite of their organisations. Had they been composed entirely of Socialists, and taken Socialist action consistently, the Socialist movement might to-day have been far greater, far more powerful. Because Socialists organised are far more powerful for Socialism than Socialists fighting a lone hand. When, however, the Socialist voluntarily carries the sins of a non-Socialist organisation, like an Old Man of the Sea, on his shoulders, he becomes well-nigh impotent.

That is why the Socialist Party of Great Britain came into existence. We want our

WORK FOR SOCIALISM TO TELL

—to hear all the fruit it can. We know that, organised, we are stronger than we should be as individual units. We found the other organisations unsatisfactory. They were simply confusing the working-class mind by non-Socialist, often by anti-Socialist action. We refused to accept responsibility for their sins. The working class wanted a clear issue set before them. Socialism and the significance of the class struggle contained the issue. We knew that that issue was so simple that the wayfaring mind was as capable of appreciating it—more capable in fact—as it was of appreciating the pointless issues of "Reform" propaganda. We knew, therefore, that the justification of the

"Reformers," viz., the inability of the working class to assimilate Socialism, was piffle—honest or otherwise. We formed our Party, and because it is the only Party that insists upon Socialism and Socialism alone, we claim it as the only Socialist Party. Because the other parties are continually insisting upon something other than Socialism, and because we hold with all our minds and strength that in doing it they are putting the progress of Socialism to a disadvantage by obscuring it and confusing the issue it raises; we are in opposition to them, accepting their maledictions, their misrepresentations, often their deliberate lying (I am sorry it should be necessary to say that), as evidence of the

CORRECTNESS OF OUR POSITION.

We do not make our claim as the only party in Great Britain that may logically and justly accept the name and the responsibilities of a Socialist Party, in any spirit of braggadoccia. There is nothing to brag about. Nor is it brag to assert that; because we are the only Socialist Party. We have during our short existence done more within the limits of our powers to educate the working class and develop the Socialist idea than any other party. The fact is obvious if the premises are conceded. If the premises are not conceded, wherein are they wrong? That is the question we put to the honest S.D.-cum-I.L.P.-er or anyone else. If they choose to answer we shall always be delighted to argue with them, and give them fairer play than their parties and organs are prepared to give us. We can afford to do that because our position is impregnable, we believe, and in any case, having no "leaders" we stand to lose nothing. The other crowds prefer to ignore us, or vilify us, or in some other way endeavour to do us injury because they know their positions are far from impregnable, and because their leaders have

A GOOD DEAL TO LOSE.

Well, we are the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the others are wrong even upon so simple a question as the causes of the development of Socialism in England. What have our critics got to say about it?

ALEC JAMES.

THE SLIMY TRAIL.

The flight of the wealthy exploiter into the Tariff Reform camp is causing consternation in Liberal circles. Not because the Liberals are thereby losing brilliant advocates for the forlorn hope, but because they are losing and will lose the funds wherewith to purchase professional agitators from the ranks of the intellectual proletariat which capitalism produces in such large numbers and who are compelled, in order to fill their bellies, to prostitute their talents in aid of any cause the votaries of which are able and willing to pay for their services.

The politically bankrupt Liberal Party, then, finding itself in this position, sets out through its Press, in a series of lachrymose articles, to arrest the stampede and to justify the departure from "Cobdenism" in the "economic sphere" and its unfaltering adherence to the free imports fetish. Says the official organ of the "great party" in a panic scree, "Mr. Chamberlain used to taunt Liberal Free Traders with inconsistency for accepting Cobden's fiscal policy but rejecting his policy of *laissez faire* in matters of factory legislation. Mr. Asquith long ago disposed of this point by showing that the two things are essentially consistent. The object of government in the economic sphere is, he said, to secure the best application and distribution of the productive powers of the country. Fiscal 'protection' is opposed by free traders because it interferes with that object. Factory legislation is supported by Liberals because it conduces to it, since *sweated labour is, in the long run, labour uneconomically employed.*" (Italics mine.) Here the reformer himself points to his cloven hoofs, for, shorn of its euphemisms, the foregoing excerpt exposes the sordid motive that first, last, and always actuates the Liberal wing of the capitalist House of Commons. *Laissez faire*, in the economic sphere does not pay, so overboard it goes. Cheap bread means cheap wage slaves, so the capitalist will spend

the last drop of his apoplectic blood to keep the people's food untaxed. Sweated labour is labour uneconomically employed, so the Liberals will assist their Tory collaborators in preventing titled owners of chemical factories from importing big, raw-boned sons of Anak, standing six feet three inches in their socks, from Erin, and murdering them inside of twelve months. They must take three years to "do them in." Hence the agonised tears of the humanitarian over phossy jaw, potter's rot, wrist drop, baker's foot, and other loathsome diseases which make up the "majesty of labour." The less astute capitalist is aghast at seeing his liberty to slay for profit restricted in this manner. He is slow to learn the lesson mastered by successful soap-boilers and cocoa fakers that there is money in applied humanitarianism and cheap and telling advertisement in model villages and garden cities, and so the capitalist hack must perforce point out the real motive for all great reforms and "workmen's charters." In effect, he says to his paymaster, "Play the game, old man, play the game. Let the cry of the oppressed go up. Let your Carlyles write their flappedoodle on the 'condition of England question,' your Ruskins their 'Fors Clavigera' and such-like 'tripe.' Weep over the 'cry of the children' and the 'submerged tenth.' Subsidise all and sundry. But keep the people away from the Socialist. He alone endangers the citadel of King Capital. Keep the minds of the working class diverted from Socialism and all is well for Capitalism."

It is said that in the Chicago stockyards nothing is wasted except the squeal of the dying hog. The British capitalist politician beats even that. Indeed, he finds a trump card in the groan of the famished, half-naked, shivering child; in the wail of the widow; in the suppressed complaint of the scrapped wage slave who is a drivelling old dotard at forty-five, babbling, not of green fields *a la Falstaff*, but of his exploits when stripped to the waist before retort or furnace. All can be turned to account for the further advancement and consolidation of Capitalism; all can be used to side-track the working class from the main line to emancipation.

It is suddenly realised that it is unprofitable to wear out the workers so quickly. Immediately the capitalists' henchman of press, platform and pulpit bellow forth the dawn of a brighter era for the factory slave by adding still another "Workmen's Charter" to the Statute Book in the shape of elastic Factory Acts. It is found, owing to the starving of the infant proletariat, that a sufficiency of cannon fodder cannot be obtained—the wage slave is degenerate and inefficient, and so the children must be fed. Did not the great white Christ command "Feed my lambs"? The young idea is so trained that it can draw up false balance sheets and lying prospectuses, top up accounts and label merchandise with more or less false descriptions. It is taught that the despicable vices of thrift, prudence, and resignation are cardinal virtues, that the more servile he is the better citizen he is, and that the religion of cowardly slaves—Christianity—is the very acme of morality, and if he will only subscribe to it he will one day have a halo round his feet. This is called education. And to achieve its purpose Capitalism astutely enlists in its service all the sentimentalists, freaks, and cranks with which mankind is cursed. All the churches, friendly societies, philanthropists, co-operative societies, trade unions, and pseudo Socialist organisations. The slimy trail of the capitalist serpent is over them all. Tariff Reformer and Free Trader Home Ruler and Labour Leader, Sacerdotalist and Passive Resister, Malthusian and Mormon, Suffragette and Social-Democrat, Temperance man and Anti-gambler, Secularist-ethicist and morality mongers generally—all are playing the capitalist game, consciously or unconsciously. All are attempting to mould the plastic working class mind on the potter's wheel. The one party that stands out in bold relief against them all is The Socialist Party. That alone points the road to emancipation and exposes all reforms for the tinkering ineptitudes they are. Hail the Social Revolution!

W. WATTS.

In poor nations the people are comfortable, in rich nations they are generally poor.
Destutt de Tracy.

CUTTINGS AND CRITIQUES.

A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC "VICTORY."

In reporting the return to the Barking District Council of Mr. Edwards of the S.D.P., *Justice* claimed that he ran as a straight Socialist. Below we reproduce a "revolutionary" appeal issued by Mr. Edwards:—

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE WEST WARD.

VOTE FOR A MAN

Who will support your interests as a working man, not a man who, if you ask him for a job, should say "Aye, mon, let's look at your hands?"

What price

WORKING UP A GASHOLDER AT 6D. PER HOUR in all winds and weathers. Is this the type of a man who supporting Contractors and others in the undercurrent which is now so prevalent on the Council, the man for the West Ward? Show your disgust by

VOTING FOR EDWARDS.

The Tariff Reform propaganda is certainly compelling the Liberals to make some very interesting admissions, in their efforts to show that the existing unemployment and poverty are not due to that Free Trade which they claim has brought so much prosperity to this country. Thus in the House of Commons on April 14th Mr. Lloyd George declared that we are to-day producing the same quantity of hops as hitherto, but out of a smaller acreage—due to improved methods of production. Those engaged in the industry are suffering, he said, because of these improved methods and machinery, which have enabled a great saving of labour to be effected. In a similar strain the *Daily Chronicle* wrote in connection with the Wolverhampton bye-election. Local unemployment, it declared, was to some extent due to improved machinery and machine tools. The output is greater than ever, but owing to methods of standardisation, the cost of production is decreased, and less labour is required.

The manufacturers are doing well, it added. Of course they are, and always will so long as they own the machinery which the workers improve and operate. No fiscal arrangements or rearrangements under capitalism will affect the workers' position.

Some idea of the extent to which that "Peasants' Charter," otherwise the Small Holdings Act, will "solve the land problem" may be gathered from the reports in the *Liberal Press* of the recent floods. Some recently laid down allotment land in Upper Caversham, wrote the *Daily News* on April 30th, is submerged to a considerable depth, which means a heavy loss to those working men who have rented the ground and who have already planted for the season. It also reported that allotment holders around Towcester and in other parts had suffered considerably.

And yet some folk still continue to swear by these pills for the earthquake.

According to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, the revenue from intoxicants in India continues to rise, having reached £6,510,000 in 1907. In 1875 it was £1,755,000. This of course has taken place side by side with an increase in the number of conversions to Christianity.

In reply to a correspondent who asserted (*inter alia*) that everybody knew the I.L.P. was a Socialist Party, the Editor of the *Western Clarion* (Vancouver), in the issue of that paper for April 25th, 1908, writes as follows:—

"He is mistaken in stating that we all know the I.L.P. is a Socialist Party. We all don't know that a party is a Socialist Party which has for its leading lights and parliamentary repre-

sentatives men who, like Ramsay MacDonald and Shackleton, favour child-labour and advocate the lowering of the school age to thirteen years so that the child-slaves may be available to the profit mills of capitalism at as early an age as possible; or men who, like Henderson, oppose the eight-hour law; or who condone a rifle diet for hungry strikers, like the whole precious bunch of them. Socialists? Why, no Whig or Tory could serve capitalism better."

The reply is commended to the careful attention of the *Western Clarion's* English namesake. It is not expected that the organ of the house of Blatchford will enthusiastically endorse the views so definitely expressed in the Vancouver journal, but it does not follow therefore that the views are not true. Rather the contrary.

The recent election at Dundee provides yet another illustration of the compromising tactics of the "Labour" Party. The manner in which the officials of the Labour Party acted was directly opposed to the "Labour" nominee. It is well known that Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald went down to Manchester to interview Mr. Winston S. Churchill, and assured the Liberal Cabinet Minister that no opposition would be forthcoming from the Labour Party at Dundee. Is this the reason why Mr. MacDonald and the senior member for Dundee, Alex. Wilkie, did not speak on Mr. G. Stuart's behalf and did not send a message to him? What a curious lot! And what "Independence"!

THE DISCOMFITURE OF LAWLER WILSON.

FINE DEBATE AT BATTERSEA.

On the 3rd ulto. the debate arranged between J. Fitzgerald of the S.P.G.B., and Lawler Wilson, probably the ablest platform opponent of Socialism, duly came off. The proposition discussed was—

Does the Capitalist Class live upon the robbery of the Working Class?

The Battersea Town Hall, capable of holding 1,700 people, was packed, and the arguments of the disputants were followed with the closest interest.

Although Mr. Wilson came with something of a reputation for sustaining his case against representatives of various bodies claiming to be Socialist, Fitzgerald had no difficulty in tearing that case to tatters. As the S.P.G.B., according to the most generous allowance of Mr. Quelch, and others who are concerned to belittle the Party upon the score of its numerical weakness, consists of no more than a dozen or two members; and as 1,700 doesn't go many times into a dozen or two; and as a large proportion of the audience frequently gave expression to its endorsement of the Socialist position as set out by Fitzgerald, it follows that our view of the result of the debate is not shared among ourselves alone. After the comparatively easy task that, according to report and to his own statement, Lawler Wilson had in previous bouts with alleged Socialist champions, it is probable that he is himself a little surprised at his failure to convince his audience in Battersea.

The reason for our easy victory consists, of course, in the fact that our representative stood upon the impregnable rock of Marxian economics, understood the exact position of the working class, as a class, in the economy of capitalist production, and was not to be shifted a hair's breadth from the direct issue of the inevitability of the exploitation of labour—given private ownership of the means of life—by any manipulation of figures, however dexterous, that his opponent thought proper to indulge in. To our man, the question of immediate moment was not as to the extent of the robbery of the workers, but the establishment of the fact of the robbery. Once that was fixed, Lawler Wilson's case went to the winds, and Lawler Wilson knew it—none better. Therefore we had most entertaining

feats of high-class jugglery, of intellectual gymnastics of a quite amazing order, and all the other artifices by which a clever debater may sometimes cover his discomfiture and divert attention from the material point in dispute, which, to face directly and frankly, would mean his inevitable defeat.

To do Mr. Wilson bare justice, it has to be confessed that he is a red-herring trailer of the very first class. Which is the reason for the measure of success he has achieved in his discussions with those other champions of Socialism whose equipment has, unfortunately, consisted, as to nine parts, of good intentions, and as to one part only of Socialist science. Even in the case of champions of wider knowledge, attached to one or other of the parties misnamed Socialist, Mr. Wilson, being an exceedingly 'cute and ready-witted person, is able to easily score debating points based upon the vacillating policy and general political ineptitude of their organisations. So he is able to require of them that they shall defend the multitudinous inconsistencies of their parties' actions to the confusion of the pivot issue.

Up against the S.P.G.B., however, he found himself robbed of his thunder. The obscurantisms and political thimble rigging of the other parties are the subject of our consistent denunciation. We had to be dealt with, therefore, on our own record, which was unfortunate seeing that our record does not lend itself either to odious comparison or glib criticism. Clearly it was a case with us of facing the issue, or—verbal pyrotechnics in conjunction with expert figure-fuddling. Mr. Wilson did his best in the latter department, but his pyrotechnics were very damp and sorry squibs, while in the end he was, unhappily for himself, obliged to swallow his own political hotch-potch.

Fitzgerald gave no rope. He nailed his opponent down upon the fact of working-class robbery first, and then proceeded to an examination of the celebrated figures. It is notable that Mr. Wilson, grown bold by the inability of other opponents to deal with them, had written to *Justice* during the S.D.P. to prove these figures false. It is not less notable that the S.D.P., through *Justice* made no endeavour to do so. Fitzgerald flatly refused to accept the figures and denied their authenticity. Time and time again he challenged Mr. Wilson to name his authorities. But the wily Wilson evaded the challenge, as he had endeavoured to evade the central issue. In the last speech of the debate, however, relying upon the fact that his opponent would have no opportunity of further reply, or goaded by the stinging irony of Fitzgerald's last speech, he proceeded with sublime irony, to quote his authorities. The result was an effect of quite dramatic intensity.

Mr. Fitzgerald, he said, has asserted that I will not give you my authorities. I will do so. They are the "Statistical Abstract of the Board of Trade," the Fabian "Facts for Socialists," Chiozza Money's "Riches and Poverty"—Here Fitzgerald leaped to his feet. Mr. Chairman, he shouted, here (producing the books) is the "Statistical Abstract," here are the "Facts for Socialists," here is Money's "Riches and Poverty." With these in my hand I again challenge Mr. Wilson to justify his figures. He got no further. The audience rose at him with a great roar of cheering, and—the famous figures went the way of the anti-Socialist case. Notwithstanding cries from all parts of the hall, Mr. Wilson preferred to accept the discomfiture of the *denouement* rather than touch the books flung on the table before him.

Altogether the debate was most successful from the Party point of view and will doubtless be productive of much good. The Battersea boys are to be congratulated upon their organisation of the meeting, and have the satisfaction of knowing that their work, by making the meeting possible, contributed largely to the result.

AGRA.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

An Interesting Experiment.

Paul Grados, in the May Day number of the Guesdist organ, states that in the course of an address at Limoges in 1892, Dr. Napias—who was later appointed chief of the Assistance Publique—recalled an experiment by Pattenkofer and Voit on the degree of resistance of the human organism to bodily fatigue.

A vigorous workman was selected who could take a normal repose, and who received a substantial nourishment; then, said Dr. Napias, he was made to exert a muscular effort that was calculated mathematically and which corresponded to the expenditure of average labour—and that during nine hours.

Well, it was ascertained that at the end of twenty-four hours his organism had a deficit of 192 grammes of oxygen which he had had to borrow from his own tissues. Neither the rest that he had taken nor the food that had been given him had sufficed to completely repair the tissues used up during nine hours' work.

It is therefore shown scientifically that nine hours of daily labour exceed the forces of the human economy. This is doubtless mainly responsible for the much shorter duration of the lives of working men as compared with the longevity of members of the leisured class. The movement toward a lessening of the working day that is favoured by many capitalists is therefore not surprising. Its object, indeed, is simply to extort the *maximum* of effort—from the human machine.

The Fetish of Unity.

To the gushing sentimentalist the word Unity is as the Ark of the Covenant. Insistence upon the necessity for agreement on principles, on methods, and above all on the object in view, is scorned as sectarianism and as heresy against most holy Unity by such worshippers of empty forms. True unity is a means to an end. First of all the essentials regarding the end to be sought and the means to that end must be agreed upon, for "unity" without this is unity only in impotence, being without everything that makes unity useful, namely, common principles, methods, and aims. Unity under any other conditions than that of agreement on the essentials of aims and methods is like tying cats together by their tails.

Our French comrades are finding this out. Rappoport, after a word in praise of what he calls international discipline, lets the cats out of the bag when he says in *Le Socialisme*: "Besides, unity is not a restriction. It does not hinder even those who pine for the old 'dangerous alliances,' and of the false households of three with the 'Democracy.' It does not even prevent certain members of the party from calumniating *fraternally* their 'dear comrades,' and from persecuting them with their deadly hate. Unity is therefore an excellent thing from every point of view, especially if, as we hope, American comrades will not inflict anarchists and those with anarchist methods upon themselves as companions of the road—the false road."

Ch. Bonnier, in a later issue of the same journal, also confesses that "the great trouble with the French Parti Socialiste is that it falls continually from the fever of anarchism into the heat-sickness of radicalism; never can it grasp its true class policy, never can it understand that it is entirely apart, and that it has not to do the work of the others. How many times has not the spook of reaction caused it to fall into the arms of its born exploiters—the radicals?"

In short, the only unity worth worrying about is Socialist unity, and most of those who gush about the words have still to realise what they mean.

F.C.W.

I paint the capitalist and the landlord in no sense *couldeur de rose*. But here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class interests. My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.—Karl Marx.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard.

MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1908.



Pensions for the Dead.

THE Liberal mountain has been long in labour, and has nearly been delivered of Old Age Pensions. We say nearly, advisedly; for the Government, with shocking callousness regarding the welfare of its poor, emaciated little mouse, has determined to sever it from the Budget, in which it would be protected from the wicked lords, and to embody it in a separate Bill; thus deliberately and of malice aforethought placing it at the mercy of those whom the Liberals never tire of denouncing as enemies and wreckers of all Liberal measures. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer has pledged himself to this course, and the mouse may yet fail to see the light of day.

Nevertheless, we confess to no anxiety on the matter. We have no desire to claim that our influence is visible in the result. Reforms are the gifts of capitalism, and are only granted to the workers in vain endeavours to stay their advance to power. And we are convinced that to get anything vital to their happiness the working class must take it themselves. To do that the workers must be supreme in the State, and then, of necessity, it becomes a question, not of reform, but of social reconstruction.

The Liberal "Old Age" proposal is, then, but a sop to keep the workers quiet—but such a paltry sop. The "Old Age" part is prominent enough, but surely a microscope is needed to discover the pension.

Five shillings a week when you are seventy, should you be so unfortunate as to live as long. A problematic five shillings a week at seventy—that is, of course, if you have been a good boy; if you haven't within five years been convicted of vagrancy, desertion, or "serious" crime; if you are not in receipt of poor relief; if your income is not more than ten shillings a week, and so on—while married couples living together are to be punished for their foolishness by having their pensions reduced to 3/9 per head.

Five shillings a week as a bribe to the worker to keep out of the workhouse, where it would cost at least 18/- to keep him. Five shillings a week as a premium on low wages to those few ancient toilers who, by some miracle, are still able to work a little. Such are the promises of the "Workers' Budget."

The pensioners are, indeed, condemned to live—or endeavour to live—upon a total income that in no case can exceed fifteen shillings a week. In the vast majority of cases they must die slowly upon considerably less. Happy Veterans! Not that they are likely to be numerous. Precautions have been taken to avoid that contingency. Besides, the average working man is scrapped, as a profit-producing machine for the capitalist, a score of years before the pension is to bless him. He will thus have a score or more of years in which to purify his body by fasting preparatory to entering the heaven which a generous capitalism is to provide for its worn-out beasts of burden. Truly, the workers have not words

wherewith to express their thanks! Kaiser Wilhelm, having taken the initiative in the conference of the Western European nations in the matter of promoting measures of social reform as an antidote to Socialism, must feel contempt for stinging, shop-keeping, British Liberalism, whose cheese-paring policy, he might say, would ruin all. Social reform in Liberal England limps painfully behind that of despotic Germany, and it is significant of the worth of mere social reform that the German wage-slave is, on the whole, not one whit better off than his British confrère. The enactment of social reform, in fact, cannot keep pace with the progressive crushing of the wage worker under the iron heel of Capital.

The hardships of British and German workers—of workers the world over—flow from their exploitation, and must continue until this ends. And to the conquest of Society soon or late the workers must bend their Titanic strength, for there is no help but in themselves, and no hope but in Socialism.

Queeries.

It was the chairman of the Labour Party Conference at Belfast who affirmed that "they had been called a queer party and they were a queer party." Mr. Joseph Burgess, the Labour candidate of Dundee is a member of this queer party. Which may account for his answer to the intelligent voter who, according to *The Scotsman*, asked him the following questions:—

(A) Do you think that Socialism would interfere with the present division of labour?

(B) If everyone received the same reward, who would do the dirty work under Socialism?

The answer of this queer member of a queer party, as reported, was:—

(A) I am of opinion a complete state of Socialism cannot come for at least fifty years; nationalisation of the land must come first, Socialism afterwards.

(B) I am sure that those who do the disagreeable work would receive the big wage.

Mr. Burgess' idea of the order of evolution of Socialism is certainly equal to his conception of the remuneration of the dirty worker under Socialism; while his value as an exponent of Socialism is hardly more than his worth as a member of the antient order of the prophets. It would be interesting now to hear Mr. Burgess upon what Socialism is, what wages are, and what reasons he can adduce for the imposition of a time limit of fifty years to the capitalist system. It is just possible that his answers would stagger even the members of the S.D.P. who gave expression to their passion for the unity of the "forces of progress" by affiliating with all the other odds and ends of political ineptitude in the locality, to secure Mr. Burgess' election.

It is worthy of some little note that the fact of Mr. Burgess moving at the I.L.P. Conference of 1907, against affiliation with the S.D.P. on the ground, in effect, that the S.D.P. was not good enough, neither prevented the S.D.P. from supporting his candidature at Dundee, nor his acceptance of that support. Mr. Burgess may, however, quite fairly claim now, that the support which the S.D.P. gave to the "Socialist" candidate whose conception of Socialism is expressed in the answer above quoted, is quite sufficient justification for his assertion that the S.D.P. is not good enough. The S.D.P. is apparently concerned to show that the Labour Party is not the only queer party in existence.

A King on Socialism.

Dr. H. M. MacCracken, Chancellor of New York University, has—according to the *Harmsworth Press*—been interviewed by the *Daily Mail's* Own Correspondent.

The professor had just returned from a trip to the Scandinavian countries, undertaken with the object of arranging an interchange of professors. What we are concerned with here, however, is not the object of his holiday, but rather with the delightful example of bourgeois mentality that the Chancellor of New York University introduces to us via the *Daily Mail*.

The chancellor lunched with King Haakon and conversed for several hours with him on education and politics. "If King Haakon," he observes, "were not a king he would make an excellent professor of political economy. He understands his subject thoroughly. He knows, too, that Socialism is increasing among his subjects, recognises the fact openly, and is, indeed, much worried about it."

And then we come to that dreary, hoary old wheeze that Socialism is the Great Divide; that it does not mean a co-operative commonwealth run by associated labour democratically organised, but means that all wealth is to be split up amongst the people!

Recently, Dr. MacCracken said, the King went among some working men who were known to be Socialists and asked them if they were in favour of a division of wealth. They said they were. "Then let us appoint Friday at noon as the time for the division of wealth," the King suggested to them. "Very well," answered the men. "But wait," said the King, "at five minutes after twelve many babies will be born, and they will be entitled to their share of wealth. Shall we make another division then and another one every five minutes?"

The King did not get a satisfactory answer to that question, so his opposition to Socialism, he told Dr. MacCracken, was not modified. "Why," he added, "I could black my own boots if I wanted to. I have done it, and know how. But if I did, what would become of those people who make a living by blacking boots? The Socialist demand for equality of labour is in fact impracticable. I believe in division of labour."

After that we are not at all surprised that "King Haakon impressed Dr. MacCracken as a man of unusual intellect." And when the learned chancellor informs us that the King "would make an excellent professor of political economy," we can but agree with him.

PADDINGTON BRANCH REPORT.

Yes! we are still keeping the flag flying, surrounded though we may be with the cohorts of reaction. Their name is legion. No sooner does the I.L.P. get upon its thin and goat-like legs, than a branch of the S.D.F. becomes a matter of immediate import. A "Trades and Labour Council" follows as a matter of course, whilst upon its heels treads the Clarion Fellowship. We understand there are still some vacancies. The earnestness with which they deplore the "disruptive" tactics of the S.P.G.B. is only equalled by the eagerness they evince to establish further factions of what they call "our great and glorious movement." However, such is the environment in which we luxuriate.

There are, of course, the Tariff Reformers and the "Friends of Labour" but their activity seems more sporadic than that of the other capitalist parties just mentioned. We were successful recently in getting the Tariff Reformers to accept a challenge to a debate, but up to date cannot get a hall in which to hold it. One excellent hall we found, they averred was out of their district. True, we have had one generous offer, and that from the "Friends of Labour"—the Liberals—who mistook us for the S.D.F. We approached them for terms of hire of their own hall at Paddington. Back came their very "Liberal" offer. Could we have their hall in which to flatten out the Tariff Reformers? Certainly! have it and welcome. And the terms? Don't mention it; we'll give it you. And, what's more, we'll provide your chairman for you and do all the needful advertising.

There's generosity for you! When you want it laid on with a trowel apply to the Paddington Radical Club. Our reply was as follows:—

"For the first time, perhaps, in your history, you are dealing with a Socialist party. We are as much opposed to the S.D.F. as we are to the Tariff Reformers, the Paddington Radical Club, or any other capitalist agency; and further, we shall be happy to demonstrate the extent of our differences with you whenever you feel so graciously disposed as to accept the challenge we now formally tender."

"We, the Paddington Branch of the S.P.G.B., challenge you, the Paddington Radical Club, to debate 'Socialism versus Liberalism' or 'Socialism versus Free Trade,' or any similar proposition where the issue is perfectly clear."

"Regarding your offer to supply the hall, advertise the debate, and provide the chairman, it only appears to fail in one respect: you should have insisted also on providing our speaker for us. We can only conceive of a party entirely 'destitute of political aptitude', such as the S.D.F., or a party in nothing but name, such as the I.L.P., giving the proposal serious consideration."

"Awaiting your early reply," etc.

The rest is silence. W. T. HOPLEY.

[CONTINUED FROM p. 66, MAY ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

5. THE TAXES.

While the ground landlord cuts to an ever larger extent into the share of the capitalist in the surplus value—either indirectly or directly—the State is active in a similar direction. The modern State has grown up with and through the capitalist class, and was the most powerful agent in advancing the interests of that class. Each has assisted the other. The capitalist class cannot dispense with the State. They are in need of its protection both at home and abroad.

The more the capitalist mode of production develops the keener becomes the antagonism of interests and the more conspicuous grow the contradictions produced; but the more complicated also becomes the entire system, and the greater, too, grows the dependency of one individual upon another, and the greater also grows the need of an authority standing above and charged with making each fulfil the duties arising from his economic function.

Far less than the previous methods of production can a system so sensitive as the present bear the prosecution of antagonisms and disputes by the autonomy of those immediately interested in the fray. In the place of self-aid enters "Justice" which is watched over by the State.

Capitalist exploitation is by no means the product of certain rights; it is its needs that have brought forth and given domination to the rights prevailing to-day. That "justice" does not cause exploitation, but sees to it that this process, like others in economic life, proceeds as smoothly as possible. While we have before described competition as the motive power of the present mode of production, we may regard "State justice" as the "machine-oil," which has the effect of minimising the friction in the capitalist system. The more this friction grows, the more intense the antagonism becomes between exploiters and exploited, between property owners and propertyless; the larger, more especially, is the slum proletariat; the more does each single capitalist become dependent upon the prompt co-operation of numerous other capitalists for the undisturbed conduct of his concern. So the desire for "justice" for this purpose grows stronger, and the greater grows the need to requisition its organs—law-courts and police, and a strong State force capable of supporting "justice," if needs be.

But the capitalists are not only concerned with being able to

legitimist, royalist, monarchist, imperialist, and republican of different degrees—has had its turn in arranging matters.

This power could have—and ought to have—changed hands; but it has remained the business of the same class, the bourgeoisie, divided into sections for the purpose of sharing profits, but all of them united in order to defend those profits against the attacks of the workers.

Accordingly the workers ought never to favour any political colour borne by no matter what section of the bourgeoisie. The same ditch should be dug between the radicals and the workers, as between workers and "reactionaries." In what respect do the radicals differ from the last named? They are, perhaps, in favour of more advanced reforms, but like the "reactionaries" they are all for keeping intact the status quo. That is enough to condemn them, and they must be fought just like the others.

In their struggle for the possession of political power, the workers should be and remain by themselves, in order to constitute that class army which the course of events will allow them to throw against and rout the bourgeois army. Besides, the class-struggle teaches the proletariat that only to know the bourgeoisie is to treat its members as the enemy, and fight them upon every ground. This is what the congress at Marseilles in 1879 wanted to do.

At a time when Socialist doctrines were completely unknown, the workers might still cling to the skirts of these gentlemen, the bourgeoisie, awaiting at their hands a modification or a change in their own wretched existence. To-day, after 30 years propaganda of scientific Socialism, such an attitude is impossible of justification.

The organisation of the workers into a class party has been forced to shape itself in a two-fold way—one by way of trade unions, the other in politics.

Even as the very conditions of their labour, conditions under which production and distribution of commodities are carried on, force the workers to join unions in order to defend themselves against longer hours of work and lower wages, in a word, to defend themselves against the masters; just so, with a view to overcoming the master class, are they obliged to look beyond their extremely limited everyday horizon, and form themselves into a political party, the Socialist Party, for the transformation of Society by the socialisation of its productive forces.

produce, buy, and sell undisturbed within their own country. From the start the commerce outside plays an important part in capitalist production, and the more this method becomes the predominating one, the greater appears to be the need for securing and extending the outside market in the interest of the whole nation. But in the world market the capitalists of one nation meet competitors belonging to other nations. In order to oust these they call for the aid of the State, which is expected to demand, by means of the armed force, respect for their claims, or—what is better still—to crush the foreign competitors altogether. As states and monarchs become ever more dependent upon the capitalist class, so the armies cease to serve merely the personal ends of the monarchs, and are utilised increasingly for purposes of the capitalist class. Wars are less and less dynastic, and more and more commercial and national, which in the last instance can only be traced back to the economic conflicts between the capitalists of the various nations.

The capitalist State, therefore, is not only in need of an extensive army of officials for purposes of law and police (besides, of course, for the administration of its finances), but it requires also a strong military force. Both armies are ever on the increase in capitalist states; but in recent times the military force grows more rapidly than the army of officials.

So long as the application of science had not begun to play a part in the technicalities of industry, the technical aspect of war changed but slowly. As soon, however, as machinery came to dominate industry and subjected the latter to continuous evolution, war machines ceased to be stationary in development. Every day brings new inventions and discoveries, which, scarcely examined, and introduced at great expense, are already superseded by a new revolutionising improvement or addition. And the war machinery becomes ever more extensive, more complicated and costly. At the same time the progress in the means of transit makes it possible to concentrate an ever larger number of troops on the battlefield; hence armies are continually increased.

Under these circumstances the State expenditure for purposes of war (in which the greater portion of national debts are included) have with all great European powers grown within the last twenty years to an absolutely maddening extent.

The State grows ever more expensive, and its burdens become always more oppressive. The capitalists and large landowners naturally seek (having everywhere the law in their own hands) to transfer the burdens as much as possible from their shoulders upon those of the other sections of the community. But as time goes on there is ever less and less to be obtained from those sections, and thus in spite of all the trickery of the exploiters their surplus-value has to be encroached upon for the benefit of the State.

[To be continued.]

THE FIRST DUTY OF SOCIALISTS.

BY CHARLES VERECQUE.

ONE class can only supplant another in controlling Society when it becomes conscious and organised. When the bourgeoisie brought about their revolution, they had been ready for it for a long time. Doubtless they didn't amuse themselves by looking into all the details of the Society they were about to establish, but they knew what it was they had to realise in order to throw down all obstacles in the way of their development.

The working class, which is at the present time the lowest and most downtrodden, can only acquire cohesion and strength, and finally reach the goal aimed at, by organising and at the same time becoming class-conscious. This is the position they (the workers) must resolutely take up. They must, so far as is possible, completely detach themselves from all sections of the bourgeoisie, republican as well as reactionary, inasmuch as all these sections have, each in turn, deceived, bought, exploited and massacred them, and equal each other in defending the capitalist system, and in crushing down the proletariat.

What the workers have got to do is to establish their own party, a class party; their only hope of freedom being their own united and disciplined forces.

The two things in question then are: education and organisation. It is to these that Socialists are directing their efforts. So long as the workers form the "tail," the following of any section whatsoever of the bourgeoisie, they will remain tame and incapable of gaining their freedom. They will merely secure the ends of those very bourgeois against whom they think they are fighting; and since they are not looking after their own interests, they will either forget those interests or be unable to distinguish them.

It is incontestable that the political colours in which the bourgeoisie wrap themselves are only a means to bind the workers more closely to them, in order to keep intact their political power, and consequently, their rule over Society.

Since 1789 the bourgeois have been masters of political power in France: every section—

The part to be played by the Socialist Party is one of adopting every useful means for gaining recruits, by propaganda and organisation; above all to spread far and wide, both in the towns and on the countryside, the idea of the political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie, by the class-consciousness of the workers must be awakened, in this way leading them towards their definite emancipation.

In order to bring about the speedy triumph of the social revolution, the thinkers of the working class must become familiar with Socialist principles and conclusions.

That is why the Socialist Party ought not to neglect any occasion that arises in order to marshal the workers under the red flag for an attack on bourgeois Society. Under actual present-day conditions the Socialist Party is only, to use an expression of Guadalupe, a kind of drill-sergeant and recruiting officer, and can only act as such, teaching and gaining recruits by every means in its power.

In order to lead up to it, the next social revolution needs a proletariat well taught and organised. To become conscious of its absolute right to every form of social wealth, and to be gathered into one class party; these are the two conditions which a proletariat intent on transforming Society must necessarily fulfil.

It cannot be too often repeated that what keeps the proletariat from its emancipation is the fact of its ignorance. If it could only understand it would free itself. The new form of Society is ready to take shape under its direction and for its benefit. Its consent is the only thing lacking. The daily task of Socialists is therefore to prepare the workers for the historic mission which they have to accomplish.

[Translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain from *Le Socialisme*, by FRITZ.]

AMERICAN PARTIES AND THE UNITY QUESTION.

The article under this heading appearing in the last issue is simply the expression of the opinion of the writer alone and must not be taken to imply that the S.P.G.B. has in any respect changed its open and avowed hostility to Mr. DeLeon and the American and English S.L.P.

SUFFRAGETTE HUMBUG.

Not long ago the hoardings of London startled the man in the street with ugly black and white posters asserting that women were poor, that women were sweated, that women walked the streets, and that misery and vice stalked in our midst, all because women had not the vote. Those statements, issued by the Suffragettes, were and are unblushing falsehoods, unsustained and unsustainable by any shred of evidence.

The Socialist is in no quandary as to why the many are poor. It is not because propertied women have not the vote, nor even because women in general are not electors—it is because the many are robbed. And the stopping of this robbery depends not upon a mere all round increase in the number of votes, but upon the intelligence of the workers and the correct use of the vote in their hands.

Democracy is not an end in itself, but a means to an end; and for us that end is Socialism. And were the workers to understand rightly their position and their policy, the political freedom they now possess would enable them to achieve their emancipation irrespective of sex.

It is, moreover, not a sex war that exists in Society but a class war, but the Suffragettes endeavour to blur this class issue by screaming qualifications.

What are the facts regarding the Suffragettes? Under the pretence of sex equality they are buttressing class privilege. Under the guise of democracy they are endeavouring to strengthen the political power of property. They plausibly propose that women be admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men, and since all Socialists want sex equality this looks attractive. But wait. What does it really mean? Men vote at present under the £10 franchise. The suffrage is thus upon a property basis with plural voting for the wealthy. Therefore, according to the proposals of the women Suffragists, only those women having the necessary property qualifications are to be allowed to vote. This excludes not only all those single working women unable to qualify because of their poverty, but it also bars practically the whole of the married women of the working class who have no property qualifications apart from their husbands'. Further, it increases enormously the voting power of the well-to-do, since the head of the wealthy household can always impart the necessary qualifications to all the women of his house, while the working-man, through his poverty, is entirely unable to do so.

The limited suffrage movement is consequently only a means of providing votes for the propertied women of the middle class, and fagot votes for the wealthy; possibly tipping the balance of votes against the workers—men and women. Yet the Suffragettes pretend that this movement is for the benefit of working women! The huge sums spent in this agitation prove that it is not a workers' movement. It is a movement by women of the wealthy and middle class to open for themselves more fully careers of exploitation, and to share in the flesh-pots of political office, to get sinecures, position and emoluments among the governing caste.

In their cry for "equality" do not their methods betray them? Every move on their part is an appeal not to sex equality but to sex fetishism. Their tactics rely upon and appeal to the worship of sex. They know that their sex gives them privileges before the magistrate and protects them from the usual police brutality, and that any strong measures against them would immediately raise a storm in their favour amongst the sex worshippers. Hence their peculiar tactics, which have no other explanation. Let anyone compare mentally the treatment that would be meted out to working men did they pursue a similar policy to these Suffragettes. Let them compare the way the suffragist invasions of Downing Street or the House of Commons were dealt with, with that which would follow persistent forcible entries of the Commons by hands of unemployed. Broken heads, bullets, and long terms of imprisonment—and not in the second division—would be their lot, and instead of hysteric sympathy being created for

the ill-treated unemployed, horror at their audacity and a determination to repress them brutally would take its place. And the middle class examples of sex arrogance rely upon this very woman worship and sex inequality to further their demands.

The Suffragette movement is upon all counts but a bulwark of capitalism. It is directly opposed to the interests of the working class—women as well as men, and the Independent Labour Party shows its capitalistic nature when it supports that movement in strengthening the political power of the propertied against the propertyless.

Both sexes of the workers are exploited and suffer. Both are victims of those who live by the ownership of the means of life. Therefore the salvation of working women lies in the emancipation of their class from this wage-slavery. Their interests are identical with those of working men, and the women of the middle class do but attempt to lure them with false phrases to desert their fellows and to aid the propertied enemies of their class.

The duty of working women is to refuse to allow themselves to be used as catspaws of the wealthy, and to join with their fellows in the Socialist Party, the organisation of their class; thus working for the emancipation of the toilers as a whole, irrespective of sex. Sex-equality cannot be the fruit of Suffragette humbug, it can only come through economic equality—and economic equality is impossible except through Socialism.

F.C.W.

THE DAMN'D GROTESQUES.

The S.D.P. annual Conference laboured mightily and brought forth several gems. I hasten to rescue some of them from an unhonoured and unsung obscurity, and give them the benefit of our rapidly increasing circulation.

First Mr. Quelch presents his compliments and begs to say there is no such thing as a Socialist Party of Great Britain. He wishes there was. And yet "Fighting Carmichael," "Camborne Jones," and a host of other young bloods out of the camp of the Quelches were largely occupied at Manchester with appealing to their comrades to hold them back in case they (the young bloods) should "go for" certain members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain who insisted upon preaching Socialism as against Danirvinism—the name given to the queerest lot of rant, cant, and fustian extant.

Quite apart from the reports the young bloods undoubtedly gave him, Mr. Quelch has many excellent reasons for knowing of the existence of the S.P.G.B. So excellent that Mr. Quelch is probably mortally anxious to escape the necessity for dealing with us other than in the dark and devious ways that seem to delight him.

But if there is no such thing as a Socialist Party of Great Britain, what have the "old gang" got to say about it? They have "borne the heat and burden of the day," as Quelch would phrase it, for thirty years, in an endeavour to build up the Socialist Party that Harry Quelch laments does not exist. Harry will not admit us as the S.P.G.B., and yet there is no other! For he himself has said it. But it's a most depressing admission—for him and the "old gang." However, we refuse—it's most ungracious of us—but we refuse to consider ourselves dead, even to please Mr. Quelch. We ought to have died within a few weeks of our birth, but somehow or other we've hung on, increasing our membership and the sales of our literature for four years. And so far as I can see we shall have to keep on going on.

For example, it took a member of the S.P.G.B. to polish off Lawler Wilson of the Tariff Reform crowd. Wilson had met the champions of several of the parties misrepresenting themselves as Socialists, and as he is a fairly 'cute chap, and his opponents' parties had records that will never come out of the wash with credit, Wilson had a gorgeous time. He came to Battersea Town

Hall, therefore, rather cock-a-hoop, and—a packed audience saw him die.

This isn't bounce, it's truth. Ever heard of truth, Harry?

Apparently Harry is not prepared to recognise any organisation until it is as big as his own. That is an excellent reason for the I.L.P. ignoring the S.D.F., for the "Labour Party" ignoring the I.L.P., and so on. But then Harry would call the I.L.P. names, among which "cowards" would be the mildest, and something with several B's in it among the stronger!

Harry is fond of "langwidge" and big things—particularly S.D.P. big things. That's why Jack Jones finds favour in his sight. Happy Jack!

And that reminds me. Jack Jones at the Conference gave off this: "Correspondence is the curse of democracy." A delegate had attacked the S.D.P. Executive for not doing what the Conference had instructed it to do, and had read the letter ("unwisely," says *Justice*) the Executive had sent in reply. "Unwisely" is a good word, but it barely meets the case.

The purport of that letter has already appeared in this journal. It was to the effect that the S.D.P. opposition to "Lulu" Harcourt in the Rosendale Valley had been withdrawn partly, at any rate, for the reason that Harcourt was a better chap than many of his colleagues! As if from a Socialist standpoint there were degrees of goodness among capitalist politicians.

Undoubtedly the letter was read "unwisely." It isn't wise to let the rank and file of the Party know that such views are held by their executive officers. They may begin to have doubts. And Happy Jack was right in the circumstances when he said correspondence was a curse—not a curse in itself, of course, but the very devil of a curse when it is read to others for whose ears it is not intended.

But this method of secret diplomacy is, of course, *vide* H. M. Hyndman (same Conference), "wholly undemocratic and dangerous, tending to the support of despotism and the maintenance of corruption and intrigue." But in the conduct of a supposedly far more democratic organisation it is very good and very necessary, while the publication of correspondence is a curse. We are lovely democrats in the S.D.P.!

Still, one can understand Happy Jack's disgust. He is doubtless still painfully aware that Camborne is standing on the map. And I wonder whether it was his experiences in that delectable district that led him to the conclusion that it was desirable to get somebody—"a good cadger"—was Hyndman's felicitous term—"to get down into other people's pockets without them knowing it." Nice anti-secret-diplomacy chap, Jack.

On this matter of the Rosendale Valley contest, it is of some little interest to observe that "there is no folly in striking a blow for Social Democracy wherever it can be done as effectively as it was at North-West Manchester, with the result of demonstrating to our enemies that there is no position too strong for us to assail." (*Justice*, 2/5/08.) Apparently it can't be done effectively at Rosendale, although they have more branches in that division than they have members in N.W. Manchester!

It would, in the circumstances, be nice to know what the sapient editor of *Justice* regards as an effective strike at capitalism. And I wonder what, if any, correspondence, that "curse of democracy," has passed between the anti-secret-diplomatists at Chandos Hall, and the "good capitalist" party in Rosendale.

Also I should like to know what F. Davey, of Paddington, and others interested, now think of the reply of the editor of *Justice* to the statement published by us on the reasons for the withdrawal of the S.D.F. Rosendale candidate.

This reply characterised our report as misleading and untrue. According to the *Justice* report of the S.D.P. Conference, however, it was quite true. Oh, the curse of this unwise correspondence!

And how does this square with the S.D.P. Executive's statement that "Lulu" Harcourt had improved his position—become more democratic, more sympathetic to Labour, and so on? "Harcourt had certainly a greater grip on the capitalist parties and would get more Tory votes than before." (Fred Knee, S.D.P. Executive representative at Conference.)

That either means that Harcourt is getting more into favour with the capitalist class, or it means nothing. And that's the way Harcourt is improving his position and finding favour in the S.D.P.'s sight!

Another matter. I cannot fill the paper with S.D.P. Conference absurdities, lies, and contortions, although it would be the easiest matter in the world. We are for ever being asked why we continually attack the S.D.P., I.L.P., and other parties "who are coming along to the same goal as ourselves." Our reply is contained in the foregoing—a fair sample of the pitiable, if ludicrous, position the strenuous endeavours of the S.D. and I.L. Parties to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds are for ever landing them into.

These parties are appealing to the working class for support. The working class does not know what it is letting itself in for if it responds to the appeal. Therefore we do what we can to open its eyes; or at any rate we have taken the precaution of repudiating any responsibility for S.D.-I.L.P. action. When, therefore, the storm breaks and swamps the time-servers in a deluge of the wrath of the once deluded working class, we shall be in the ark with the blessed.

Ever heard of the Ark, Harry? No, you're wrong. It isn't a public-house.

Which again reminds me. The S.D.P. are "agin" the Licensing Bill. The I.L.P. are largely for it—most enthusiastically. Another case of unity of idea among the forces of progress.

What is our view of the Licensing Bill? It leaves us unmoved. It doesn't matter a tinker's anathema. It's part of the great game of political "coddem"—if that's how the word is spelled.

I was going to refer to the repudiation by the S.D.P. Conference of Gott, of Bradford, a S.D.P. member suspected of the intention of issuing an agnostic pamphlet about Christ, the enemy of the human race. This might injure Danirvinism in North-East Manchester. Wherefore the S.D.P. solemnly repudiated the pamphlet and worked off its stock cant resolution about religion being a private and personal affair.

Now perhaps they will repudiate Blatchford and his anti-Christian books. Because Blatchford holds the anti-Christian propaganda of such importance that he would put it in the forefront of the battle.

Will the S.D.P. repudiate him? Not much. You see Blatchford is a sort of important person and Gott is not. And the S.D.P. Executive are keen on important persons.

Sometimes, however, the important person, having been roped in, fails to exhibit becoming respect towards his loving parent organisation. There's the unhappy case of H. G. Wells, who burst upon North-West Manchester with two columns of advice to the elector to vote against Danirvinism and S.D.P.-ism.

Of course Wells is merely an insufferable person whose hat is too small for him, and the present *Justice* estimate of his Socialist knowledge is fair enough. "Nobody but himself takes Mr. Wells seriously." A novelist of the

Jules Verneschool who "thinks he knows something about Socialism" but doesn't, and so on. But readers of *Justice* will clearly remember the great chortle with which *Justice* welcomed the addition to the ranks of the S.D.P. of the great thinker, the literary genius, Wells.

It's the same Wells. But the S.D.P. view has changed a little—that's all!

ALEGRIA.

I.L.P. COMPACTS IN MANCHESTER.

To the Editor.

Dear Sir,—A copy of the *Socialist Standard* for April, containing Mr. J. Brough's second letter, has just been put into my hands. There are one or two points arising out of the same that I would, with your consent, like to discuss. In the first place I wish to draw the attention of your readers to the manner in which Mr. Brough, like all equivocators, seeks to evade the real issue by constantly changing his position. At the open-air meeting I addressed in July, '07, Mr. Brough charged the I.L.P. with having formed a compact with the Liberal Party. This I denied at the time. In his first letter (*Socialist Standard*, Feb., '08), the charge is reduced to one of complicity—the L.R.C. being the guilty body, the I.L.P. merely a party to the act. That he is totally unable to justify either one charge or the other is made perfectly clear by Mr. Brough's second letter. The "compact" is discreetly dropped. (A tacit acknowledgment, by the way, of the "veracity of my denial.") Forced to abandon one position, Mr. Brough takes up another. He now tries to patch up his case by pointing out that certain I.L.P.'ers (*acting on their own initiative*, as they must have done on the evidence cited by Mr. Brough from the *Daily News*, Jan. 11, '06), voted Liberal. This I submit is not the point in dispute. I never undertook to answer for the action of individual members of the I.L.P. But I can, and do, truthfully say that neither the I.L.P. nor the L.R.C. did as Mr. Brough asserted in his first letter—that is, entered in "a compact, a mutual agreement, or contract," with the Liberal Party.

The "compact" is a figment of Mr. Brough's fancy. And one that he now wisely, and for him conveniently, ignores. He has failed to substantiate his charge. And his climb down is so obvious, so unmistakable, that I would have left the matter to the intelligence of your readers had not Mr. Brough made himself responsible for another gross and deliberate lie. He says: "I cannot understand Mr. Swan's dislike to having his party alluded to as compromising with Liberals, as I and others have heard him say 'It does not matter how they (L.R.C. men) get to Parliament, as long as they get there.'"

Mr. Brough knows as well as I do that he never heard me say anything of the kind. The remarks he distorts and tries to twist were made by me in answer to a question from Mr. Brough re the attitude of the L.R.C. towards Victor Grayson. In the course of my reply I said that it did not matter whether Grayson had got into Parliament with, or without, the aid of the L.R.C., so long as he had got there. In this case, as in so many others, Mr. Brough puts into words something they do not contain. Not that I am surprised at Mr. Brough resorting to tricks of this kind. They are characteristic of the man. Were he to be deprived of this his occupation would be gone.—Yours, etc.,

TOM SWAN.

Dear Comrade,—If Mr. Swan replies somewhat rudely, the reason is probably to be sought in that he hopes by his wild and whirling words to hide the poverty of his case.

At the Editor's request I simply resume the facts.

In the first place the contention *re* compacts has obviously not been dropped, for indeed none of the evidence has been rebutted by Mr. Swan.

Contributory evidence has been given, not from one source alone, but from many sources; and the evidence in proof of arrangements with

Manchester Liberals to which the I.L.P., being prime movers in the L.R.C. there, were incontestably parties, is overwhelming.

Again I ask, if there was no arrangement with the Liberals, why did the secretary of the Manchester and Salford L.R.C. stage in a letter to the *Chronicle* that "The introduction of a Socialist or Labour candidate in East Manchester would seriously damage the good prospects of their candidatures in S.W. and N.E. Manchester"? If the I.L.P. were not parties to this why were they, as they stated in the *Chronicle*, unable to promote any candidate in E. Manchester "on account of their affiliation to the L.R.C."? These facts have already been given, and why has not Mr. Swan, if there is any other explanation than that of an understanding with the Liberals, given a reason for them?

Further, Mr. Swan's bare denial is totally insufficient to dispose of the evidence from the *Manchester Courier* of Dec. 16th last, that—

Some time before the last General Election the Independent Labour Party displayed an anxiety to contest the West Salford Parliamentary Division, and formally adopted a candidate. As a result of an arrangement with the Liberal Party that Labour candidates should not be opposed in the North-East and South-West Manchester Divisions if the other Manchester and Salford Divisions were not contested by Labour candidates, the prospective nominee of the party withdrew.

And did not Mr. Clynes, M.P., himself say upon his victory (*Daily News*, 15/1/06) that "the victory is due to a combination of forces, which, by their united power, had given a great blow to Chamberlainism"? This and other evidence has already been given. Is it necessary to give more?

The *Daily Chronicle*, 1/1/06, in an article on "Triangular Contests" said:—

A settlement between Liberals and Labour men has been arrived at in many of the great centres of population—in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Newcastle, Preston, Wolverhampton, Sunderland, Stockport, Leicester, Huddersfield and a number of other towns.

Again, the *Daily News*, 15/1/06, said:—

At Halifax, again, Mr. Whiteley's wise arrangement with Labour has produced an ideal result in his return with Mr. Parker at his side and nearly 4,000 votes in front of the Tory candidate. Here there is an object lesson in the right use of great and in the main harmonious powers. The same moral applies to North-East and South-West Manchester, where it is clear that the Labour candidate had the whole Liberal Party at his back.

And so we might go on.

With regard to the answer to a question put to Mr. Swan at a meeting, it is again Mr. Swan who is lying. The question was not put by me, but by W. L. Brown, of 39, Buckingham Street, Moss Side, Manchester, of whom I have made enquiries, and he writes: "Mr. Swan had said that 'the return of V. Grayson for Colne Valley had done more to put the fear of God in the capitalist party than any other event during the last thirty years! I asked how it was that the return of K. Hardie, P. Snowden, and J. R. Macdonald and others had not filled the capitalist with fear also; were they not Socialists? Mr. Swan replied, 'Damn it, man, you're only quibbling. Of course they are Socialists; everybody knows they are Socialists. It does not matter under what banner they get to Parliament as long as they get there.' It will be seen that this agrees substantially with my version, while it flatly contradicts the assertions of Mr. Swan on that matter.

In his first letter Mr. Swan gratuitously accused the S.P.G.B. of being a mere adjunct of the capitalist parties; up to the present he has not substantiated his statement, nor can he do so. His statement, if I may be pardoned the use of his own lurid language, is "a gross and deliberate lie"; while evidence has repeatedly been given in these columns, and in the Manifesto of the Party, proving that the I.L.P., which he champions, is in practice a "mere adjunct" of the Liberal Party.

For the rest I am prepared to leave the case upon the evidence already given, which evidence Mr. Swan has yet to meet.—Yours fraternally,

JIM BISHOP.

The economic structure of capitalistic society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former.—*Mars*.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

		7th	14th	21st	28th
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	H. J. Newman
" "	7.30	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus	T. W. Allen	P. Dumenil
Clapham Common	7.30	H. Newman	A. Reginald	A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson
Earlsfield, Thornset Rd.	11.30	P. Dumenil	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus	H. Joy
Walham Green	11.30	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald	A. Anderson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	T. W. Allen	F. C. Watts	J. Crump	R. H. Kent
Manor Park	11.30	H. C. Phillips	W. A. Cole	E. Fairbrother	W. Kennett
Ilford, Roden Street	7.30	E. Fairbrother	W. Kennett	W. A. Cole	H. C. Phillips
Tooting Broadway	11.30	J. MacManus	T. A. Jackson	H. Joy	T. A. Jackson
" "	7.30	H. Joy	J. E. Roe	A. Anderson	J. E. Roe
Peckham Rye	6.30	T. A. Jackson	J. Crump	H. Newman	J. MacManus
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	A. Pearson	A. Anderson	R. H. Kent	F. C. Watts
" "	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	R. H. Kent	G. H. Smith	A. Pearson	J. Crump
" "	7.30	J. Crump	A. Pearson	G. H. Smith	A. Pearson
Walthamstow, Bell Corner	7.30	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. MacManus	T. W. Allen
Wimbledon Common	3.30	J. MacManus	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus
West Ham, Becketon Road	11.30	F. E. Dawkins	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother	F. E. Dawkins

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OBJECT.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e. land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class-struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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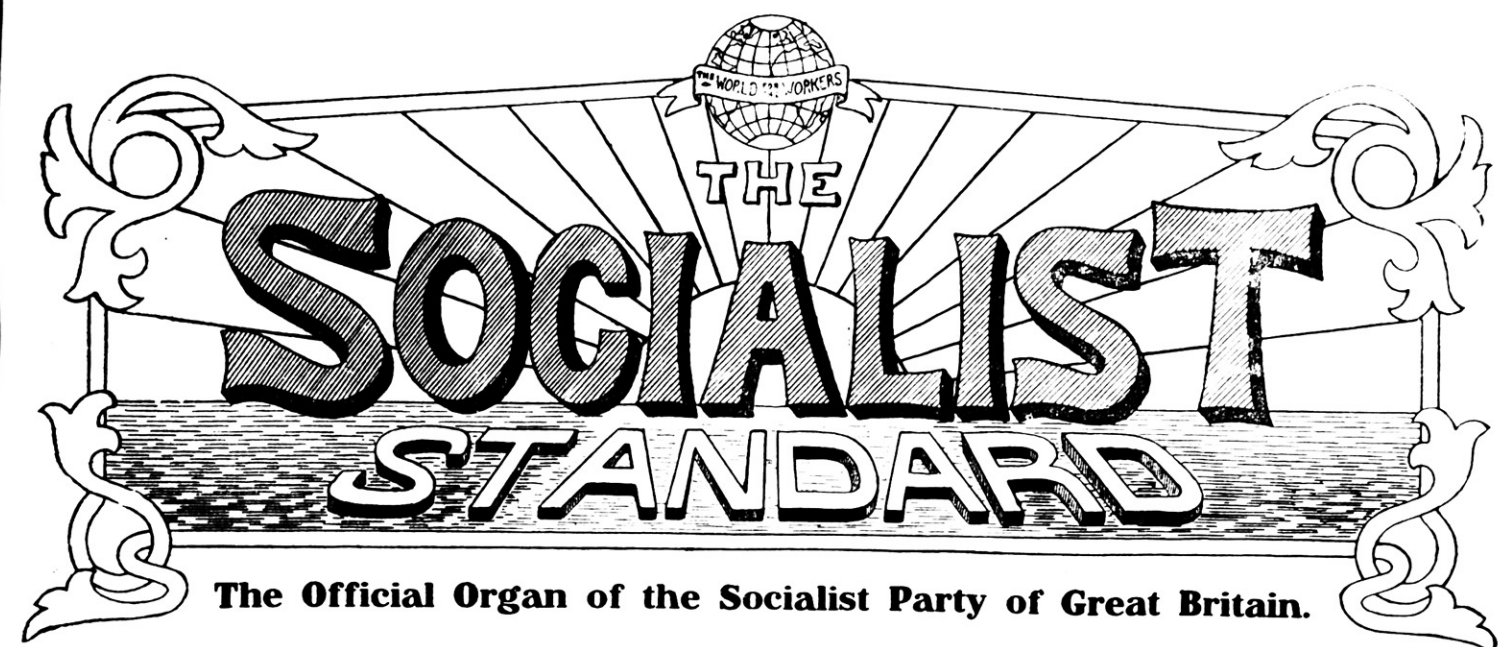
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 47. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, JULY, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

The Nationalisation of Railways

AND OTHER SERVICES.

A copy of the most recent book on the nationalisation of railways, by Mr. A. Emil Davies (A. & C. Black, 125 pp., limp cloth, 1/-), has been sent us for notice. The question is one that is again occupying considerable public attention, and some examination of the case for this and kindred reforms is therefore called for from those who regard anything less than Socialism as something approximating to a delusion and a snare from the point of view of the working class.

If, first of all, the nationalisation of the railways were as important as Mr. Davies would have us believe, we would very readily admit that Mr. Davies' book is as handy a presentation of the case against the present system of private ownership as we have seen. It manages to compress the essential arguments of the railway nationaliser into 120 pages of easy setting, without leaving the impression of a scamped job. It is not so exhaustive an examination as that published by Mr. Clement Edwards some years back, yet the reformer will find most of what he wants in it, including matter of as recent a date as February and March of this year.

From the Socialist point of view, however, the only value the book has resides in the evidence it adduces of the incapacity of the railway capitalist to manage his own

DIRTY PROFIT-MONGERING BUSINESS,

and in the proof it provides of our continuous contention that nationalisation and municipalisation as such have nothing in them advantageous to any section of the working class that is not considerably out-balanced by the disadvantages that result from them—even if, which is at least arguable, they have any advantage at all.

The advantage, contended generally, is in the higher wages and better conditions obtainable under municipal or national control. This may result—sometimes. But it is just as probable that it won't, seeing that the service municipalised or nationalised is still under the control of capitalist administrators, who are dominant in legislative and administrative affairs. While this condition holds, as it will while the capitalist system lasts, the paramount desideratum is the realisation of profits. It is merely an exhibition of economic stupidity to urge that these profits, used as they may be to reduce rates, go back to the pockets of the community. Even if this were true the fact remains that the profits have been realised from the labour of a section of the working class, and in going into the pockets of the community, they have gone in part into the pockets of the capitalist class that forms part of the community, and to that extent have been diverted from the rightful owners—the working-class producers. But although the argument has

been extensively used by those who presumably should know better—the *Clarion* crowd, the I.L.P., the Fabian Society, etc.—it is simply not true that the relief of rates is a relief of the working class. If it were true, the working class of Nottingham and Glasgow, and other places where many services have been municipalised, should be in a flourishing condition, seeing that most of their public services are realising large profits. In point of fact the working class there is not one whit better off than is the working class in towns that haven't a single municipalised undertaking, for the very simple reason that the labour-power which the workers have to sell, and *must* sell, in order to live, is bought like any other commodity at its average cost of production. So that, assuming such a relief of rates in any given district that a material reduction in the cost of living is effected, the cost of production of the commodity labour-power would be less, and the price of its purchase—wages—would also be less. Why is it that the

"STANDARD RATE OF WAGES"

is higher in some districts than in others if it is not because cost of living is higher in some districts than in others? Moreover, it does not even follow that low rates will imply low rents, nor that a reduction of taxation on any other commodity will reduce the price of that commodity—although this point is not germane and has already been adequately dealt with in these columns on previous occasions.

So much for the alleged advantage of a municipalised or nationalised service. But what of the disadvantages? The case of the railways is before us. In the chapter on "Waste," Mr. Davies gives, *inter alia*, a list of things in the administration of which economies could be effected under nationalisation. The cost of the present competition is due to separate offices, separate stations, separate lines, separate engines, wagons, and carting services, light loads, unnecessary haulage, an enormous advertising and canvassing staff, a great clearing house system, and so on. Given nationalisation there follows the concentration of traffic, the closing of offices and redundant stations, the abolition of the canvassing and clearing house departments, and, to a large extent, the abolition of the advertisement department, the reduction of trains, etc., etc. In short, the elimination of "waste."

Now the working class under capitalism is not concerned with the elimination of waste. To the orthodox person such a statement is no doubt dreadful. If so, the further statement that the working class is a distinct gainer by waste must be the very devil. Yet it is obviously the case. The working class must live. To live it must sell its labour-power. Does "waste" increase the demand for labour-power? If so, it

is good for the immediate purpose of the working class. There is nothing more immediate than

THE CLAMOUR OF THE EMPTY STOMACH.

We are dealing with the railways. The elimination of "waste" there means the abolition of the clearing house rendered necessary by the conflicting interests of many private companies. The clearing house has a staff of about 3,000 clerks. The demand for the labour-power of 3,000 clerks no longer exists and—the 3,000 clerks no longer exist. The same thing holds in the case of all the other departments mentioned. The saving is effected every time at the expense of the workers who have found employment through economic "waste."

Therefore, under capitalism "waste" is positively a good thing to the workers to the extent that it provides them with the means of living. The South African War, notwithstanding the lamentations of the "moral" Jeremiahs directed against national "waste," created a demand for labour. If that war had not happened a large number of the workers would have had to take in their belts another hole. If the nationalisation of railways happens a great army of the workers will be without visible means of subsistence.

The railway nationaliser seems to see the difficulty as through a glass darkly. Mr. Davies says "It would be a great mistake to measure the advantages of State ownership solely from the point of view of the yield per cent. on the sum invested. Under an equitable, reasonable, and uniform system of rates, trade would be stimulated to an extraordinary degree, and regard would be paid to the social needs of the nation, as is done in Belgium, Germany, and other countries, so that masses of even the humbler town workers would live in the country, and the depopulation of the countryside, with all its attendant evils, would be checked."

Hope, says the sage, is very cheap. Trade is to be stimulated to an extraordinary degree—by a reduction, to the extent of the thousands of railway workers displaced, of the demand for the commodities that "Trade" supplies!

IT'S AS EASY AS THAT!

But the prospect of regard being paid to his social needs, and of an opportunity of living in the country where the work he requires is *not*, must be sweet solace to the man in danger of being thrown on the unemployed market by the elimination of railway "waste."

No, the fact must be faced that, until the working class understand the reasons why it is in a position of dependency upon the fluctuations of trade for even a precarious living; why it must sell its labour-power for wages that represent not the value of the wealth it has produced, not even a third of that value, but the bare cost of the sheer necessities of existence; why it must stand starving in the market places

of the world at the very moment when all the requirements of happy, healthy life are piled in riotous profusion on every hand—until the working class has understood the causes of these things and expressed its determination to remedy them by capturing the political machine, in order that the capture of the economic machinery may follow, questions of the nationalisation of this, or the municipalisation of that, undertaking, are only of interest to the extent to which the change may affect the pockets, or the stomachs of the workers immediately concerned. For the working class as a whole, there is nothing in them except danger of being side-tracked in an endeavour to get at the solution of the economic problem.

That danger still needs considerable emphasis. If any section of the workers is persuaded that in some such reform movement as the nationalisation of railways there is salvation, it will come to itself in the final reckoning, sick and sorry, with apathy bred of disappointment and despair born of withered hopes. It will be more difficult material for the Socialist leaven to work upon. It will retard the advance of the workers toward the Co-operative Commonwealth that lies at the end of our journeying. It will, until the effect of its painful experience and knowledge of its wasted energies have grown small, be a stumbling block and a rock of offence in our path.

WE DO NOT WANT STUMBLING BLOCKS.

Therefore we do not want reform agitations. Therefore we will do what we may to counteract the possible influence of Mr. Davies' book by indicating the narrow limitations of its working-class potentialities, and pointing to that more excellent way—the straight, narrow way—of whole-hog, revolutionary, uncompromising demand for the working-class ownership and control of all the means of life, along which alone the party of the proletariat may march to victory.

"But," says the earnest reformer, "you will not be able to get control of the means of life all at once. You must walk before you can run. It's all a matter of evolution." The dear child! If a man wants bread shall he assiduously pick up stones? Shall he endeavour to gather figs from thistles? The worker wants that Socialism alone will give him. He must therefore make for Socialism, aim at Socialism, concentrate on Socialism. Under Socialism the municipality will probably supply him with dough-nuts and hob-nails, while "blood-alleys" and commoner marbles will doubtless be available for his children. Shall he, therefore, wanting Socialism, cry aloud to-day for the municipal supply of blood-alleys and hob-nails and dough-nuts? Why not? Because they are not important? Neither is a nationalised railway.

Mr. Davies points out that most of the Continental countries and nearly all "our" Colonies have nationalised railways. Wherein are the workers of those countries beneficially affected? Who are making the demand for nationalised railways in England? Other sections of the capitalist class. To assist the working class or expedite Socialism? Not much. Rather to enable them to exploit the working class the more. The nationaliser of the railways of Germany was—Bismarck!

Nationalised railways will be a factor in the Socialist Republic. They will be important—then. But only important because Socialism holds. Socialism is the thing that matters. Let us go for it—and the dough-nuts and blood-alleys and hob-nails will be shed at us in the hope that, because we shall have them under Socialism, we may be stupid enough to turn aside to pick them up now. But Socialism will not be shed at us. We may have everything else at the hands of the good capitalist; but the only thing we want—no! The capitalist will do anything for the working class, anything—except get off its back.

If our reformer friend's difficulty is that, unless we nationalise and municipalise as we go along, we shall be

IN A HOPELESS TANGLE

when we arrive, let him remember one little fact. The evolution of capitalism (he will like that word "evolution") has placed the workers practically in complete control of industry. From the top to the bottom the whole process of production is managed by—wage servants. The workers are in control in fact but not in name.

It's the product they do not control. The thing necessary, therefore, and the only thing necessary, is to evolve in the minds of the workers the knowledge of the fact of their control and the means by which they may expropriate the present expropriators, so that they may be dominant in name as well as in fact, and secure for themselves the product of their own labours. That evolution of knowledge is quite as easy under private ownership as under State ownership. All that will then be required will be the capture of the political power through which the armed forces are manipulated, and—a notice to quit to the capitalist. The industry socially worked to-day, will have its product socially owned then.

But the publicly-owned service has, anyhow, a good educational effect on the working class, surely? Perhaps—perhaps not. In any case there are enough of them for all educational purposes to-day. But they have been converted to publicly-owned services by representatives of the capitalist class in the interests of the capitalist class. The effect of that outstanding fact to any but the serious student who will take the trouble to dig below the surface of things, will hardly have great educational value. The casual enquirer, such as the worker unfortunately often is, will conclude either that the capitalist is willing to help the worker along the road to Socialism, or that the publicly-owned service is, because it is a capitalist move, steered clear of completely. In both cases he would be wrong. The educational effect of the fact of Post Office sweating, Clothing Department sweating, Woolwich Arsenal sweating, London County Council-jerry building, etc., etc., *ad nauseam*, is also likely to be a little dubious.

Are there any other legs upon which the national-cum-municipal-Liza can stand? Probably. Our "Liza" has as many legs as a caterpillar. But not one of them can support the argumentative superstructural body that it is hoped to stick on it. In the final analysis we come back to the incontrovertible fact that Socialism is the only hope of the workers, and that everything else is mere leather and prunella.

ALEC JAMES.

THAT BLESSED WORD: UNITY!

(CON)FUSION IN AMERICA.

A FEW years ago the question of Socialist unity engaged the attention of the two "Socialist" parties in this country. Votes were taken of the rank and file and large majorities voted in favour of fusion, but as the leaders did not desire fusion they did not allow it to come to pass.

Similarly the cry for "unity" has been raised in America, and again those first in raising the cry have been the smallest of the parties concerned.

As in England a knowledge of the mental make-up of the parties enabled many to see through the fake proposal, so will similar knowledge of the American "fusionists" enable us to value their "unity" cry for what it is worth.

In 1896 the Socialist Labour Party of America declared for the "new" Trade Unionism, and started the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, a union affiliated to the Socialist Labour Party, and out to smash the "pure and simple" trade unions. This caused a "split" in the Socialist Labour Party, a large section leaving and, with the "Social-Democracy" of Eugene V. Debs, forming the Socialist Party of America.

A fight then commenced between the two, most of the fighting being done by the Socialist Labour Party, who long and loudly denounced the prominent members of the latter party—Debs, Carey, Mother Jones, Simons, and so on—as "freaks," "frauds," and "fakers," while the Party as such was in turns termed the "Multi-cocoa Party," the "Kangaroos," in fact, anything but a Socialist party, and no Socialist Labour Party member was allowed on their platform except in opposition.

After some nine years of this fighting, and at the same time attempting to organise the working class in the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, the membership was found to be declining at such a rapid pace that something

had to be done.

Mr. F. Bohn, organiser, visiting Chicago, found himself among the "freaks," "frauds," and "fakers" that the S.L.P. and the S.T. and L.A. were fighting—Mother Jones and A. M. Simons among them—and without instruction from either the S.L.P. or the S.T. and L.A. (his pay-masters), he joined with them in signing a manifesto calling for a new union to be formed.

In thus proclaiming the failure of his own union Bohn was supported in the *Weekly People* by such writers as Olive M. Johnson and Dan. De Leon. The Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance was thus crucified, betrayed by the leaders of the S.L.P. into the hands of the "freaks," "frauds," and "fakers," and a new union—the Industrial Workers of the World—was formed. This new union, having for its object the organising of the workers to "take and hold" what they produce, enrolled a large membership, including men of all shades of political thought and of none. Those who had been "freaks" and "fakers" now became honest and earnest comrades on the economic field; and to hide political differences politics were relegated to the rear, economic organisation and action being given the place of prime importance, and Mr. De Leon, editor of the *American Weekly People*, "discovered" that Marx had in 1869, said somewhere, sometime, to some one, that "only the economic organisation could set on foot the true political party of Labour."

Did Mr. De Leon know this before he helped to form the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, and before he joined the Socialist Labour Party, or is it now that he is wangling? As there is no evidence that Marx ever made such a statement, I beg to answer the latter question in the affirmative.

But in case Marx is not sufficient, Engels is dragged in, and one need not be surprised if at any time we are told that Christ talked Industrial Unionism in the Sermon on the Mount, or that even if he did not, what he did say may be "adapted to American conditions."

When, as a result of capitalist persecution, W. D. Haywood had become the momentary idol of thousands of American workmen, and, while still in prison, was nominated by the Socialist Party as candidate for Governorship, the S.L.P. found itself in a dilemma. Haywood was member and nominee of the "rotten" Socialist Party—yet he was a member of the pure I.W.W. According to the S.L.P. rules they could not support him, but could they risk opposing the popular Haywood? Eventually the Colorado State Executive decided to call upon every member of the S.L.P. in Colorado to withdraw from the Party until after the election, so that they could vote for Haywood! This remarkable wangle was supported by O. M. Johnson and Mr. De Leon, and we were told the S.L.P. refused to oppose Haywood politically because they were supporting his "economic side"!

On his release from prison, however, Haywood toured America for the Socialist Party. This roused the ire of the S.L.P., who then denounced him as a coward and a craven.

Meanwhile the I.W.W., which for a time had proved a happy hunting-ground for S.L.P. literature sellers, had had a serious split. Most of its original founders had left it. E. V. Debs had joined the staff of the *Appeal to Reason*, an anti-I.W.W. paper, and those who were left were largely inclined towards the Socialist Party. This not suiting the "fighting" S.L.P., who, not content with fighting the "cravens," like Haywood, outside, and the "physical force-ists" like Williams, inside, wanted a new excuse for a declaration of war on the Socialist Party, up went the cry for Socialist "unity."

The E.C. of the S.L.P. invited the Socialist Party to consider proposals with a view to fusion, knowing they would be rejected. They were rejected, and now the S.L.P. can forget the fond embraces indulged in with the "freaks," "frauds," and "fakers" at the funeral of the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, and clear the decks anew for hostilities.

Had the "unity" proposals been accepted by the Socialist Party and a juncture fixed up, splits would, of course, immediately have followed; but the chance would have been taken, and the S.L.P. would have been scuttled and swallowed up in a new party, with the consent and approval of its friends, as was the Socialist

[CONTINUED FROM p. 77, JUNE ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

6. THE FALL IN THE RATE OF PROFIT.

Simultaneously with the development aforementioned, the total amount of capital which the capitalists invest in their various undertakings with the view to profit shows the tendency of growing more rapidly than does the exploitation of the workers and the amount of surplus value produced by them.

We cannot enter here into the details of the reasons for the appearance of this phenomenon, as the comprehension of such supposes some wider knowledge of economics. An example will illustrate the above statement.

Let us take a case of a most convincing character. Let us compare a hand-spinner of a hundred years ago, who, we will say, was exploited by a capitalist as a worker carrying on home industry, with a machine-spinner of to-day. How much capital there is necessary to make possible the work of the latter; and how small comparatively the capital has been which the capitalist used for the purpose of spinning by hand. He paid the wages of the spinner and gave him the cotton or flax to spin. With regard to wages little has altered, but the machine-spinner to-day uses up perhaps a hundred times as much raw material as the hand-spinner; and what enormous buildings, motive power, spinning machinery, etc., there are necessary to carry on spinning by machinery.

Yet another circumstance has to be considered: the capitalist of a hundred years ago, who employed the spinner, invested in his concern only the outlay for wages and raw material; there was scarcely any standing capital—the spinning wheel was not to be reckoned. His capital was quickly turned over—say in three months—hence he only needed to invest and advance in his concern one quarter of the amount of capital he used in the whole year. To-day the amount of capital required for machinery and buildings of a spinning mill is enormous. Though the period of turnover of the amount of capital advanced for wages and raw material may be equal to that of a hundred years ago, the period of turnover of the other portion of the capital, which a hundred years ago scarcely existed, is a very long one.

A number of causes act in the opposite direction, as for instance, the credit system, but especially the fall in the value of products, which is a necessary consequence of the increase in the productivity of labour. But these causes are by no means able to entirely put an end to the development in question. This development proceeds in all branches of industry, in some more, in others less rapidly; with the result that the amount of capital advanced every year and reckoned as so much per head of the industrial workers, grows rapidly and considerably.

Let us suppose that this amount of capital a hundred years ago was £5 and to-day has grown to £50; let us further suppose that the exploitation of the worker has increased in the proportion of five to one so that if the surplus-value which a hundred years ago he produced each year amounted to £2 10/-, it would to-day, given an equal amount of wages for the year, be £12 10/-. The amount of surplus-value has thus in this case, as absolute surplus-value, risen enormously; but in proportion to the amount of capital which the capitalist invests each year, the surplus-value has fallen. A hundred years ago this proportion was 50 per cent.; to-day it is only 25 per cent.

That is, of course, only an example, but the tendency explained thereby actually exists.

The total amount of surplus-value produced each year in a

Trade and Labour Alliance in 1905.

In either case it was a wangle on the part of the S.L.P. leaders, a case for them of heads I win, tails you lose, but the Socialist Party leaders declined to enter the game.

It will thus be seen that, as in Britain, so in America, the "fusion" trick is but a move in the long game practised by faction leaders at the expense of the principles they are supposed to be advocating. It is therefore, up to the rank and file, as the Americans would say, to check-mate the players, to overthrow the "leaders," the "intellectuals," to act on the truly Marxian dictum that "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself." When they will place principles above personalities, and understand the difference between capitalist reform and social revolution, they will find there is but one party for them. Here it is The Socialist Party of Great Britain; in America it has yet to be born.

A. W. PEARSON.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"The Distribution of Livelihood," by R. Stanton. C. O. Farwell, New York & London. 6/- nett.

EXCHANGES.

"The Gaelic American" (New York).
"The Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Weekly People" (New York).
"Freedom" (London).
"The Flame" (Broken Hill).
"The Russian Worker."

AN ECHO OF THE COMMUNE.

THE Federation of the Seine, S.F.I.O., (French section of the Workers' International), had issued its annual call to the Paris comrades to fall in and march in procession before the historic wall of Pere Lachaise Cemetery, where in May, 1871, many communist prisoners were shot and buried. The occasion was to be the more interesting because a memorial tablet upon the wall itself, and a monument upon the grave of Eugene Pottier, the writer of our song, the "Internationale," were to be unveiled, and appropriate addresses delivered.

Arriving rather late at the cemetery, we found the procession slowly coming out and the avenue along which it was passing closely walled in by a line of Republican Guards infantry assisted by numerous policemen. These guardsmen, by the way (cavalry and infantry), are no easy-going two-year conscripts, but are picked professional soldiers, who are maintained for the express purpose of providing a perpetual menace to the Parisian working class.

Trying another avenue by which to find the tail-end of the procession, we, with many others, found our way blocked by squads of policemen, and so decided to visit other parts of the famous cemetery, hoping to get access to the historic wall later when the crowd should have left.

But what was our surprise to find shortly, a party of soldiers, rifle on shoulder, step down

capitalist country is increasing continually and rapidly; but more rapidly still increases the total amount of capital invested by the capitalist class in the various capitalist undertakings over which the surplus-value is distributed. If one further bears in mind the fact, which we have already observed, that for the requirements of the State and for ground-rent an ever growing amount comes out of the total of surplus-value produced each year, one will comprehend that the amount of surplus-value which each year, on the average, falls to a given sum of capital is ever on the decrease, although the exploitation of the worker is growing.

The profit—that is to say, that portion of surplus-value which is left to the capitalist owner of the concern—thus shows the tendency to fall in proportion to the total capital advanced by him; or, expressed in another way, in the course of development in the capitalist mode of production as a rule the profit falling to a given amount of capital decreases continually. This, of course, only applies to the average spread over long periods. A sign of this fall is the unceasing fall in the rate of interest.

While thus the exploitation of the worker has the tendency to rise, the rate of profit of the capitalist shows the tendency to fall. That is one of the most peculiar contradictions of the many with which capitalist production abounds.

From this fall in the rate of profit the conclusion has been drawn that capitalist exploitation would end by itself; that capital would finally yield so little profit that the capitalist, in a starving condition, would be seeking something to do. But such would only be the case if the rate of profit would continually fall, and the total amount of capital remain the same. That is, however, by no means the fact. The total capital in the capitalist countries increases more rapidly than the rate of profit falls. The increase of capital is one of the presumed conditions of the fall in the rate of profit, and if the rate of interest falls from 5 to 4, or from 4 to 3 per cent., the income of the capitalist, whose capital has in the meantime increased from one million to two and four millions, is not reduced.

The fall in the rate of profit or interest does by no means signify a reduction in the income of the capitalist class, because the bulk of the surplus-value which they obtain increases continually; this fall in profit reduces the incomes of those capitalists only who are not in a position to increase their capital accordingly. In the course of the economic development the limit is ever extended from which a certain amount of capital begins to suffice for the maintenance of its owner in accordance with his social position. It is an ever larger amount of income which becomes the minimum required to enable anyone, without working himself, to live upon the labour of others. What fifty years ago was still a big fortune, to-day has become a mere trifle.

The fall in profit and in the rate of interest does not cause the extinction, but merely the decrease in the numbers of the capitalist class. Every year small capitalists are squeezed out of their ranks and brought face to face with the same death struggle that handicraftsmen, petty dealers, and peasants have to pass through; a death struggle of a briefer or longer duration, which, however, ends, either for them or for their children, in their merging into the proletariat. What they endeavour to do in order to escape their fate, mostly only hastens their ruin.

One wonders at the great number of stupid people who are induced by swindlers to entrust them with their money on the promise that they will receive a high rate of interest. As a rule these persons are not so stupid as they appear to be: the swindling undertaking is the straw to which they cling in their desire to obtain adequate incomes from their small means. It is not so much their greed as their fear of want that blinds them in that way.

[To be continued.]

from among the tombs and press us down the avenue towards the main entrance. And as we proceeded the folk gathered in the avenue bordered by the resting-places of famous men—artists, poets, statesmen, generals; while from between the tombs on either side came the rifle, cartridge-pouch, uniform, and flesh and blood within it that make up the soldier—hundreds of him. They were clearing the cemetery. Passing out and walking a few streets from the cemetery we saw a troop of Guards cavalry pass. They have no barracks in the quarter, neither do they mount guard at any public building there. Their presence could have but one meaning, namely, to remind the Parisian working class of the murderous powers at the disposal of the master class. And, indeed, what menace was there not in these rifles, swords, and trampling hoofs? What more was needed to call to mind the bloody week of May, '71, when some 35,000 men, women, and children of the working class were massacred by the army, which had been released by the German Government for that purpose?

Indeed must the master class feel its position shaky that it should think necessary such exhibitions of force! Meanwhile, for us, do not history and passing events reveal the despotic and murderous characteristics necessarily provoked in a master class? Yes! beyond all question. And therefore we must order our conduct, our teaching, and our organisation in conformity with the knowledge so acquired.

J. H. H.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

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WED.,



JULY 1, 1908.

Brimstone and Treacle.

SPEAKING at Leicester on May 24th, Ramsay MacDonald, in moving a vote of thanks to "General" Booth, stated (*Morning Leader*, 25.5.08) "I have a good many irons in the fire, but there is not a single iron that I find the Salvation Army does not hold one end of." So much the worse for the irons of Ramsay MacDonald.

"I am sitting on the Committee dealing with the Children's Bill, and when we get into any difficulty or want any particulars," he went on, "below the bar sit two representatives of the 'Army,' and they are prepared to extricate us." Verily the source of MacDonald's inspiration is enough to justify any act of political lunacy he may, and frequently does, indulge in. If having so many irons in the fire compels him to rely upon officers of the Salvation Army for information on the condition of the children question, it's certainly time he took a few irons out. It is not an edifying spectacle to see even Ramsay MacDonald burning his fingers.

This, however, may be relied upon. Directly it may safely be done, MacDonald will burn his boats at present moored to the Salvation Army pier. Therefore, "lest we forget," we credit his political account with this laudation of the most expert sweating organisation extant.

More Labour Unity.

Will Thorne, fellow-member of the Labour Party with Ramsay MacDonald, does not agree at all with the latter's estimate of the utility of the Salvation Army. While MacDonald (same speech) thinks that "whatever agency comes and goes, the country cannot spare one agency—and that is the Salvation Army," Thorne expresses the hope (*Reynolds's* 31.5.08) that "the Salvation Army would soon be wiped out, and all such sweating organisations."

Credit where credit is due. Will Thorne sometimes blunders into a correct position. How it is managed, I suspect, not even William could inform us. "Act of God or the King's enemies," as the way-bill puts it, probably! The Salvation Army is an absolutely anti-democratic, quasi-religious body, trading upon ignorance for its membership, working upon credulity and barbaric fear for its funds, acting as capitalist back and agent in its administration. With unctuous ostentation it professes to be saving the souls of the poor, while all the time it is damning their bodies, wringing profit out of their necessity, kudos out of their misery, and advertisement out of their weakness.

It is a blend of Pecksniff and Gradgrind, with an infusion of the Cossack. It combines the methods of the Charity Organisation Society and the Inquisition. It is at once a fire insurance

company, a sweat shop, and a black-leg purveyor. It grinds the faces of the poor in defiance of the biblical injunction. It is prepared to accept the money of the usurer who was whipped out of the temple, the Judas who sold his master, the welcher, the pimp, and the rest of the congregation fore-doomed to the lake of fire which burneth for ever—according to the book of love. Has not the "General" announced that he is ready to take contributions from anybody and sanctify them in further use?

The Last Straw.

With the result thus acquired the Salvation Army dispenses hell and skilly to the "submerged tenth" (human derelicts who, forced to choose between the devil and the deep sea, select, for some unknown reason, the former) in the proportion of a full pound of spiritual brimstone to a pennyweight of carnal flour water. Its special line, apparently, is the saving of souls from the pit by the plentiful mortification of the flesh, and—it is the sort of organisation that Ramsay MacDonald delights to honour!

Being built upon fear, buttressed by ignorance, and dependent upon the maintenance of the capitalist system, it will go down before the spread of Socialist thought and the growth of the Socialist idea. It fully reflects the capitalist State, but it is no more than a reflection, and it need not be worried about. Besides, if it wanted another straw to break the back of any regard for it that might linger in the mind of any thinking man, MacDonald's approval of it is that straw, multiplied myriad times.

All the same, I'm surprised at Thorne. If he's not careful Ramsay will be cutting off his two hundred. He may protest that Ramsay couldn't, but there's no knowing what the MacDonalds and the Hendersons couldn't work between them. There's no knowing what they are doing. All that Thorne and Macpherson and the rest of the Labour Party know about the inside affairs of the Labour Party in Parliament is what MacDonald and Henderson tell them. Of course it will be a "dirty shame" if Bill is cut off with a shilling, but if Bill calls Henderson names in the "House" and flouts MacDonald's opinions outside it, what can he expect? Besides, Bill, what about that unity of purpose on all questions affecting the working class? What about that solid front? Where's it gone, Bill? Oh, Bill! you are a naughty boy!

A Damp Squib.

Of course we cannot expect anything better of Victor Grayson. He's a firework, rather damped by the humid atmosphere of the Commons, but liable to little fizzles where the powder remains dry. On the occasion of the discussion of the visit of the great peacemaker (which his other name is Guelph) to Russia, when Keir Hardie, swearing he would never withdraw, withdrew his references to the bloody autocracy and feudal savagery of the "Little Father," and his bigger sisters and cousins and aunts of the Arch-Dukeries, Victor Grayson wanted to give a one-horse pyrotechnic display. He doubtless felt that he had reached a dry spot in his powder magazine and could let off a few crackers. But Henderson, who is the "Little Father" of the Labour Party (MacDonald being his wire-pulling Grand Duke), was not going to allow Grayson to break up the order of the proceedings which the "black hundred" (less ninety-eight) had decided upon in collaboration with the Government. So Grayson was promptly "closed."

It was a decided exuberation of bad manners on the part of Grayson, who might easily have followed the example of Pete Curran. Pete, who is a model of self-restraint, found himself once up against the rules of the "House" when he wanted to do desperate things against the Government in connection with the shooting of the people at Belfast. (Russia does not entirely monopolise the institution of "Bloody Sunday.") With an effort Pete managed to maintain the *entente* between the Labour Party and the Government unfractured, and relieve his feelings at the same time. In this way. Bubbling over with indignation, he went outside the "House," and

while no one was looking, exploded (under his breath) in these epoch-making and entirely original words—"Damn the Rules!" And so went back to his duties.

This is the story told, with modest restraint and with less detail perhaps, by Pete himself. It is an example of statesmanship that Grayson should have at least endeavoured to emulate. That he did not is a sign of youth—and of the fact that he does not draw his £200 from the Labour Party exchequer.

THE OLD AGE PENSION SNARE.

PURSUANT to their policy of buying working-class support with spurious coin, the Liberals have added another to their list of cheap sopps. They raised a "working man" to the Cabinet, and it has been counted upon them for righteousness at the ballot-box. They have given a Small Holdings Act to enable those poor devils of workers who have saved a trifle under capitalist slavery, to get back to the slavery of petty enterprise and lose it. They have announced with temerity (later overwhelmed by trepidation) a measure to save the worker sending his "soul to hell" with hops (?) and arsenic. And now they have decided to administer another dose of "The Mixture," the antidote to Socialism, from the bottle labelled "Social Reform"—Old Age Pensions to wit.

What has led them to this act of magnanimity concerns us little here. Our business is to show how hollow is the claim that the realisation of this great item of the programs of the S.D.P., I.L.P. and other reform bodies masquerading as revolutionaries, contributes one iota to the material advantage of the working class. Well indeed can the capitalist captains quell the murmurings which the seeming waste of so much good provender calls up among the more ignorant of their own hosts with the cynical assurance: "Dear brethren, it is entirely compensative."

Entirely compensative it certainly is from the point of view of capitalist interests, and it is because of the vital importance of the workers understanding this that this criticism is penned.

Viewing the working class as a whole we see a mass of workers living by the sale of a mass labour-power for a mass of wages. This "mass" view of the workers becomes daily more imperative as the development of capitalist production daily eliminates the personal from human affairs, crushing individual opportunity, disfranchising individual skill, reducing all to the mean level on the workers' side, as it obliterates the individual on the masters' side, depriving capital of a personal owner, of nationality even, and making the productive machinery of the world less and less private property in the sense of separate and detached ownership, and increasingly a class possession.

Karl Marx has clearly shown the commodity nature of this labour-power, and has proved that the wage (apart from temporary fluctuations which cancel one another) is merely the equivalent of the labour-power which it purchases in respect of one quality common to both—the only quality common to both—that is, embodied necessary human labour.

Man creates nothing—he merely alters forms. He labours at the plough and in the mill, produces necessities of life, and consumes them. And consuming them he produces latent energy, or labour-power, which he sells. And just as, when the woollen manufacturer consumes coal in his furnaces, the value of that coal lives again in the woollen fabric, so the value of the necessities of life *socially necessary* to the production of labour-power is resurrected in that labour-power. Again, man labours in the gold-mines and produces gold, and this gold preserves in full—not the value of the necessities consumed by the miner to enable him to produce his labour-power, oh, no. That was represented in the miner's wages, and if the gold had no greater value than was paid in wages for its production there could be no profit for the employer. Between the cost of production of labour-power and its power of production—what it costs to create it and what in turn it is capable of creating—there is a vast difference. The day's

labour-power which the mine-owner bought cost only the product of a quarter of a day's labour to produce. A quarter of a day's labour, then, is the value of a day's labour-power, but this labour-power expended (with utility and prevailing economy), a day's labour-power is converted into a day's labour, and that which reappears in its product—gold—is the same that appears in labour-power, viz., the cost of production in units of human labour time.

We see, then, that the labour-power which the workers sell and the wages they sell it for are equivalents when they exchange at par. They are equal values by virtue of the congealed labour they contain, as the two-pound loaf and the two-pound weight are equivalents by virtue of their one common quality, weight. And just as no other commodity owner can force the price of his goods (or shall we say sell them) above their value in the face of competition, so can the workers obtain for their labour-power no more than its average necessary cost of production. Less will not suffice to reproduce the requisite efficiency and maintain continuity of supply: more is debared them by competition.

The crude statement that wages tend to sink to the level of subsistence under the prevailing "standard of comfort," faulty though it is in view of the fact that the wages of the workers as a body are never high enough to enable them to provide subsistence—fresh air, pure food, maternal knowledge, and the like—necessary to rear more than half their children to the age of six years, is a fair shot at the truth. But the mystifying element, of course, is contained in the idea of a Standard of Comfort, for this seems to indicate a power in the human will that one can hardly credit, to defy the operation of the laws of competition. What, one asks, is this Standard of Comfort? How is it established and how maintained?

The Standard of Comfort is, as Karl Marx says, the creation of an historical process, but today the most potent factor in its determination is the advance of capitalist production itself. The growing intensification of labour, the increasing insecurity of livelihood, the rising tide of unemployment, the herding of vast numbers in slums, the stripping of every national pleasure from life—all these things make stimulants and intoxicants a necessary part of the Standard of Comfort, as does the more general education demanded by modern capitalism render literary and other "refined" indulgences a part of the necessary bill of fare, and therefore a part of the necessary cost of production of labour-power, into the value of which they enter, to demand an equivalent in its price—wages.

Theoretically wages, since they are the equivalent of the necessary cost of continued production of labour-power, are paid in order that labour-power may be produced. When therefore they are spent on expensive food when cheaper would do as well, on white bread when brown would afford as much sustenance at less cost, on meat when vegetarian diet is so much more economical, on whisky which conceivably gives no sustenance at all, on maintaining the aged whose period of usefulness to the capitalist is passed, then Capital is aggrieved, and capitalists look askant and wonder why all this leakage.

Long ago they discovered that if they reduced the workers' drink bill they lowered the cost of production of labour-power, and hence cheapened it. Now they have discovered that if they in some measure relieve the workers of the burden of their aged they once more reduce their cost of subsistence and depreciate their wages. It is entirely compensative.

The workers have to learn that so long as their labour-power remains a commodity, remains an article produced for sale in a competitive market, it can command no more than its cost of production. Indeed, they are not robbed here (except in the sense that the sale is compulsory), for it is an exchange of equivalents. (It is in the conversion of that labour-power into labour that they are robbed—robbed of the difference between the value of the one and the other, which the masters call profit.) They have to learn that all those things which the conditions they live under render necessary to the production of their labour-power, in such volume and quality as the labour market needs, must be surrendered to them out of the wealth they produce. The woollen manufacturer aforesaid supplies coal for his boilers in order to get

motive power, but if his engineer makes a first charge upon it for other purposes, if he takes part of it home for the kitchen grate, then the deficiency must be made up. It is a law of mechanics that we cannot get more out of a machine than we put in, and the same applies to the human machine. If the wages which are paid to the workers as a body (we are taking the "mass" view, not the individual) for the purpose of continuing the supply of labour-power is generally expended upon things which are not fundamentally, but only conditionally necessary to that purpose—on whisky, appearance, maintaining the aged and incapable, and so on—then the fuel for the labour-power still must be provided. Therefore, what does it matter to the workers as a class whether these things which circumstances make so necessary to them that they are ready to make them first charges upon their means of subsistence, are allowed to them as wages or as "State assistance"? They might be "State" housed, "State" clothed, "State" educated, "State" doctored, "State" washed, lathered, shaved and shampoo'd, but still, while the last essential—food—is withheld from them, they must fight in the labour market for work, be overworked and unemployed, hungry and anxious and toilworn, just as much for the remnant of the necessities that they cannot exist without as for all.

Any such reforms as State Maintenance of School-children, Old Age Pensions, and so on, are mere shuffling of the cards, and can add nothing permanent whatever to the material wealth of the workers. Indeed, some of them may have the reverse effect, for under the present arrangement the teetotaler has some monetary advantage from the fact that a modicum of the cost of the generally necessary stimulants appears in the value of his labour-power, while the single man with no children outside the workhouse is the better paid because provision is made for the (capitalistically necessary) children in the general wage instead of in "State Maintenance." Even an overwhelming Socialist majority in the House of Commons could not increase the "return to Labour" by reforms, for all the reforms still leave the competitive labour market untouched. The only way is to abolish that labour market by abolishing the property condition out of which it arises, by substituting, that is, common for private ownership in the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth. That is revolution, not reform. That is ending the capitalist system, not mending it. That alone is the object of a Socialist party and of working-class politics.

So we denounce the Old Age Pension Bill as a useless and mischievous reform measure—useless because it leaves the workers where they were, mischievous because of its power for misleading them. Unfortunately the "mind's eye" is peculiarly subject to optical delusions. As the sun appears to travel round the earth, as the water seems to race past the ship, so to the untrained "mind's eye" of the average worker the so-called palliatives appear to palliate. As when "General" Booth finds a job for one poor downcast wretch, it is forgotten that without his interference another would have got the job who must now be workless, and the impression is created that unemployment has been lessened by this "invaluable agency," whereas all that has been effected is a shifting of the suffering, so these paltry reforms, so fondly hugged and cuddled by all other parties in this country claiming to be Socialist save the S.P.G.B., seem to be ameliorative, and so seeming capture the popular fancy, revive and strengthen the working-class belief in the goodwill and magnanimity of capitalist politics, ay! serve even to lure our own from beside us, and range them, bitter and militant, against the very cause they profess to revere—Socialism.

And this is why they are such powerful instruments in the hands of the master class for diverting the gaze of the proletariat from the revolutionary proposal. Truly "social reform" is perfectly summed up in the sententious description of that astute politician, Mr. A. J. Balfour—"the antidote to Socialism." For this reason we cry out upon all those reform parties who, falsely, describe themselves as Socialist, and denounce them for what in truth they are—misleaders of the working class, and therefore adjuncts of the capitalist parties.

A. E. JACOME.

CUTTINGS AND CRITIQUES.

MR. RITZEMA, J.P., of Blackburn, recently delivered himself of a scheme to "Nationalise and suppress the Liquor Traffic." So impressed is he with his scheme that he has had it printed, and THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has received a copy. Let me say at once that I also am impressed by the scheme—in spite of the fact that it was first launched upon a long-suffering public from Paradise Church, Blackburn.

The background having been laid on with the brush of a Stiggins, incorporating the usual denunciations of drink as a greater curse than war, pestilence and famine, the cause of 80% of crime, 50% of lunacy, pauperism, etc., Mr. Ritzema talks of buying out the brewers at about 300 millions, imposing a tax of 20s. in the £ upon all intoxicants, selling them at cost to the town and county councils—who will provide public-houses and managers out of their own funds, 9-10ths of the cost of which, and the loss on the sale of liquor, the Government would refund. Of the profits stockholders would receive 4%, and 2% would be set aside to redeem the capital. This would leave large sums for social work, such as "finding immediate work for the unemployed," the drink traffic would be gradually extinguished under the benign influences at work, the money diverted from beer would buy the workers bread and boots, trade would be stimulated, lunacy, crime, and pauperism almost obliterated, the churches saved, and a sober, educated, and intelligent democracy would be evolved.

A beautiful scheme, savouring of the scheme for old age pensions to commence 20 or 30 years after the potential pensioner is a box of cold meat. The poverty of the proletariat is due to his exploitation at the source of production, and from that exploitation all things flow. The investigations of Chas. Booth, the Tory, show 75% of drunkenness to be due to poverty and its inseparable conditions. It is the degradation wrought by poverty that expresses itself in alcoholic excess, and the righteous Ritzema, living under the normal conditions of the lower paid worker, might find the atmosphere of Paradise Church less congenial than the mild excitement of the "Pig and Whistle."

These morality-mongers prefer to potter with effects; yet this question must strike the stupidest in the face, if drunkenness exists *why* is it? What answer has the blue-ribboned army to that? It is, they say, when they are not dumb, due to the opportunities that exist for drinking. Oh, blind and sons of the blind! Abolish drink tomorrow—what then? Happiness, they say, prosperity, joy in living. Yet the most abstemious, thrifty, careful living people in the world are the most poverty-stricken—the people of India.

No! it won't do. If the conditions of existence drive people into deplorable excess, that excess, that craving for excitement, for some break in the hideous monotony of their existence, must manifest itself somehow. Close all the public-houses—have you then exhausted all the media through which the craving will express itself? No!

I wish I had space to deal with Mr. Ritzema's little scheme. It would be interesting to try and discover how his blue horror fades to a lighter blue when it is dispensed by town council managers rather than rubicund Boniface, and how the craving for drink is to languish and die out when the liquor is served in pewters engraved with the council's arms, and how the deep damnation of the whole business is reconciled with the payment of the authors of it (the brewers) and its continued existence under the management of a government that regards it as an unspeakably reprehensible thing, more accursed than war, plague, or pestilence.

At the recent bye-election for Montrose Burghs a Mr. Joseph Burgess sought election, claiming to stand for Independent Labour and Socialism. In the first paragraph of his address he said, "If I have the honour to secure your suffrages

I shall consider it my first duty, as the representative of all classes and industries, to do all that lies within the power of a Parliamentary representative to advance the general interests of all the Burglis and their citizens."

By "all classes" Mr. Burgess really meant all sections of the only two classes there are—the master class and the working class. He was therefore admittedly prepared to go to the Commons to represent the master class—the landlords, employers, financiers, lawyers, the officials of the army and the civil forces!

In his next paragraph he said, "all textile trade questions would find in me a zealous and intelligent Parliamentary advocate," and in the following, "I believe I could be helpful to all who are therein concerned, whether they be employers or operatives." So here you have an "Independent Labour Socialist" candidate endeavouring to convince the employing class that he could be of great assistance to them. Apparently Mr. Burgess is far from accepting the impossibility of serving two masters faithfully. How he can serve the interests of the masters without opposing or neglecting the necessarily conflicting interests of the workers Mr. Burgess does not say.

Mr. Burgess would, further, nationalise all forms of industrial capital, evidently thinking it better for the workers to be exploited by Government departments than by individual capitalists or joint-stock companies. It is the same to us whether we are robbed by the Post Office, or the L.C.C. Tramway Department, or by Sir Clifton Robinson, or the National Telephone Co. It is a matter of complete indifference to us that the distraint for rent is levied in the name of some local teetotaler or Bible basher, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or a Government Land Department. Capital is wealth used for the exploitation of labour. We do not wish to nationalise that exploitation, but to abolish it.

Mr. J. W. Benson is the Parliamentary candidate for Pudsey Division, "at the unanimous invitation of the branches of the Pudsey Division I.L.P." He claims that he is "an earnest student of the cause of poverty" and "convinced that Socialism is the only real and permanent remedy"; that "bad trade, unemployment, and poverty at present exist under a Free Trade policy, and therefore Free Trade is no remedy for these evils. After this avowal one would expect (not knowing these I.L.P. chaps) that Mr. Benson would point out that Socialists took no part in the fiscal controversy, being concerned only with the abolition of poverty, through Socialism, "the only real and permanent remedy." Not so Mr. Benson. "I am in favour," he says, "of the continuation of Free Trade." So there you are. The evils of bad trade, unemployment and poverty exist under Free Trade, therefore let us have some more Free Trade. Let us hoodwink the workers into believing that it matters to them whether they are robbed by Protectionist crows or Free Trade kites. Such is I.L.P.ism.

In this respect, however, the I.L.P.'s *vis-a-vis*, the Social Democratic Party, has nothing to shout about. In a pamphlet written by its secretary on "Social Democracy and the Zollverein" it pointed out that the great danger was that the working class might be induced to take sides. Agreed. And yet every S.D.P. candidate, from H. M. Hyndman downwards, has endeavoured to induce them to take sides, by declaring for Free Trade as against Protection. Take its very latest wild-cat candidature, in North-West Manchester. On the front page Dan Irving declared for "no tariff barriers to make dearer the food of the people," although in the body of his address he described the Tariff Reform agitation as "a sham, political warfare on the fiscal arrangements of the country," after which he said, "as a Social-Democrat I am in favour of Free Trade."

Dan's address was funny in other respects. "Whatever party may be in power," he said, "I shall always be found giving my support to any measure which makes for the benefit of the

people," and then, in his concluding paragraph, "Workers, remember that in all times of industrial struggle" (which, of course, means every minute of day) "the members of the master class use the power you give them in Parliament and on public authorities to compel you to submit to their will." And it is suggested by this "worker for the Labour Movement for twenty-four years" that the master class, possessing and using the power of compelling the workers to submit to their will, will introduce measures which make "for the benefit of the people"! Really, these fellows must be abysmal idiots or—(missing word. Suggestions invited.)

"Do not the working class pay the rates and taxes?" is a question asked in the "Catechism of Socialism," and Messrs. E. Belfort Bax and H. Quelch, both of the S.D.P., answer "No." The worker, they add, has "nothing wherewith to pay taxes, and whether these be high or low, and whoever has to pay them directly, his position remains the same." Generally speaking, they say further, the reduction of rates is of no benefit to the working class, and to devote the proceeds of municipal undertakings to the reduction of rates is simply to use them as means for making profit for the propertied class. After which Mr. Dan Irving, in his election address, "in the interests of Labour and Socialism," declared for the "Nationalisation of Education and Poor Rates so that the financially strong may help to bear the burdens of the weak." Very 'O!—what?

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, member of the Liberal Cabinet, said at a dinner at the Newcastle Gladstone Club on May 29th, that "The Conservatives represent the constant apprehension that change will do harm to vested interests. YOU WILL FIND, IF YOU LOOK BACK, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO VESTED INTEREST INJURED BY ANY REFORMS THAT HAVE BEEN PASSED IN OUR DAY. You need never be afraid that things will go too fast in this country. In the last fifty years there has been an unparalleled advance in industrial progress and in the material domain of human effort, but nothing of the kind in the least degree corresponding has been done in regard to the improvement of the condition of the people."

The Lord Chancellor has blown the gaff. No wonder that only one newspaper gave a full report of his speech. But what the frank Chancellor admits is undoubtedly true. No Socialist expects the master class to legislate against its own interests, and as we see, they do not so legislate. Hence the position of the S.P.G.B. Before the workers can get anything from the master class they must be able to take it. Therefore the work before us is to educate and organise the workers in these truths for the political supremacy of the workers. Then, and then only will the wealth producers find their burden lightened.

Mr. Ben Tillett, in an eulogy of the work of Tom Mann in Australia, writes, "the present leaders of the Labour Parties (of Australia) are blind to the revolutionary work going on apace and the trend of capitalism, falling back upon worn-out political shibboleths, fiscal fooling, sectarianism and religious intolerance and with the usual clap-trap of temperance opponents. Well, Ben, what fooling, fiscal or other, beats your own fooling as emigration tout in England for the Australian Capitalist? Was that fooling or something worse?"

The local Branch, S.D.P. indulges in *Justice* (6/6/08) in a great chuckle because they were able, by lying low and saying nothing, to secure that their nomination for the Leigh Union Board of Guardians should be the only one, so getting their man returned unopposed. They rejoice in beating Liberals and Tories at their own game, "and Lees is inside the board room, where we have not the least doubt that he will make his presence felt. A victory for Socialism indeed—of the S.D.P. brand! The educational effort on the workers locally must be stupendous!"

ALEGRA.

PARTY NOTES.

The Manchester Branch continues to go "great guns," and the local S.D.P., I.L.P., and other reform organisations must be heartily wishing our members with their inconvenient truths anywhere but where they are—and that is mainly where the reformers make their own public pitches. Being beaten whenever they allow themselves to be drawn into discussion upon the position and tactics of their own parties, they now refuse to answer questions from any of our speakers (following a line that has offered a way of escape elsewhere) and when forced into some recognition of the S.P.G.B., have recourse to the customary misrepresentation of our attitude, and vilification of some of our membership.

The latter course, however, does not always pay, as Mr. Watson, of the S.D.P. Executive, found when he ventured to level charges at our comrade Baritz, who at one time was secretary of the Cheetham Branch of the S.D.P. The charges related to Baritz's conduct while acting in that capacity, as a result of which, it was alleged, he was expelled. Baritz had no difficulty in proving Watson's statements to be untrue, and after many miserable attempts to struggle out of the difficulty his attempt to blacken our man in the eyes of his audience had landed him into, Watson was obliged to admit his "error," and reluctantly apologised.

Apart from these brushes with the enemy, the Manchester Branch has held many meetings, with audiences running sometimes into four figures, and has effected large sales of the Party literature. More power to them.

Another branch of the Party has now been formed in Lancashire. Burnley has opened fire, and in the district specially affected with Danirvinism. The members may be reckoned upon to make their presence felt. So the organisation that four years ago was given three months to die in, grows. It must be very annoying to the prophets.

At Watford a round table meeting, to which members of the local S.D.P. were specially invited, was held, when Fitzgerald gave an address on the reasons for the Party opposition to the S.D.P. Several S.D.P.'ers turned up, and their principal platform member undertook the rather unhappy task of defending his organisation's work. Whether the meeting results in any immediate conversions or not, it doubtless has had the effect of opening the eyes of some of the S.D.P. men present to the methods by which their society is run, as well as to the only attitude which a working-class party can adopt. As their presence was an indication of a desire to get at the truth, the final outcome must be to the advantage of the only Party expressing working-class interests—the S.P.G.B. It is fairly certain that if the honest, earnest member of the S.D.P., I.L.P., and the rest (and there are without question, of course, many such), could be got at, and the issues squarely put and thoroughly discussed, a large proportion would, sooner or later, recognise the weakness of their position and come over. The difficulty is that the forces at work to prevent such discussion, coupled with our comparative weakness numerically, make any meeting impossible. This is unfortunate for the growth of the Socialist Party in England, perhaps, but we can only keep on with our work while keeping a watchful eye upon any opportunity that offers.

Will any member who is willing to devote any part of his holidays to provincial propaganda work communicate at once with the Head Office, giving dates and district? The biggest glutton for work can be fully satisfied. Verily, the field is great and the labourers few.

Two debates have been held with the S.I.P., one in Manchester and one in Finsbury Park. On each occasion the position of the S.P.G.B. was easily maintained against the position put up against it. By the time this appears another

debate will have taken place in Islington, with F. Montague, the organiser of the I.L.P. in North London.

Not only have these debates been held by the Islington Branch with representatives of the "Labour movement," but the Liberal Party has been met on June 18th, when our comrade Fitzgerald met Mr. Theedham, of the Central Finsbury Liberal Association. Any member of any political party outside the S.P.G.B. can always be accommodated by communicating with us.

POVERTY : ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

A CRITICISM CRITICISED.

The review of our pamphlet "Poverty: Its Cause and Cure," which appeared in your May issue, has been brought to our notice, and as your reviewer accuses us of propounding some flagrant heresies in the name of Socialism, we would like, with your permission, to defend our position in regard to certain points he has dealt with in the review.

In the pamphlet we stated that the causes of poverty were insufficient production, waste, and unequal distribution, all of which causes were in operation in England to-day. Your reviewer differs from us here on the ground that poverty does not afflict society as a whole, but only a portion of it, and he asserts that the poverty of the working class (which appears in his opinion to be the only class afflicted with poverty) is due neither to insufficient production nor waste, but wholly and solely to unequal distribution. Now we contend that poverty afflicts society as a whole, but we are quite willing to agree with your reviewer that only a portion of the members of society feel the effects of poverty; and the reason of this is unequal distribution. We contend, however, that if an equal distribution of necessities could be effected, there would still be poverty because of insufficient production and waste. It was therefore in our opinion necessary to show that Socialism, besides ensuring a more equal distribution of income, would increase production and diminish waste.

Your reviewer differs from us as to the manner in which Socialism will be established. He objects to our characterising as absurd the idea that a Socialist Government would be able to socialise all industries within its term of office; but, having regard to the enormity of the task of socialising all industries, we must confess that we fail to see how any Government, however anxious it might be to establish Socialism, could complete the task within say five or seven years. This does not imply that a majority of opinion could be in favour of capitalism, as your reviewer seems to think, but, nevertheless, we do hold that it would be possible for a majority of the people to be in favour of certain Socialistic measures and at the same time not in favour of the whole of the means of producing and distributing wealth being owned in common and democratically controlled. As we have stated in the pamphlet, there is reason for thinking that Socialism will be realised by the socialisation of such industries as are authorised to be socialised by mandate from election to election.

We are next accused of repudiating the class struggle when we say that the method of Socialism is not to try to force the will of one class upon another class. Now it seems to us impossible to find a section or class of society to which Socialism would not be beneficial, and we think that as the tendency to Socialism becomes stronger it will also become wider, and that the spirit of Socialism—the universal brotherhood of man—will extend not only to members of the working class, but to members of all classes, and unite them on a common ground in the cause of the common good.

A. E. PETERS.
A. W. KEISLEY.

In this reply to my criticism of their pamphlet which appeared in the May issue, it is worth noting that no position is advanced that is not contained in that pamphlet, and, moreover, no new evidence is brought forward to uphold the

position there taken up. In repeating that poverty is due to insufficient production and waste in addition to unequal distribution, the authors agree "that only a portion of the members of society feel the effects of poverty, and the reason of this is unequal distribution." Although this practically amounts to granting me the first point of my criticism, let me state the facts. The estimated total of the wealth produced in this country varies between 1,125 millions and 1,800 millions sterling. The population is about 43 millions. Were the distribution equal the income per head would be, on the low estimate, about £26, and on the high estimate about £42; which for the average family (5 persons) would be equal to a sum of £130 per annum in the one case, and £210 per annum in the other. So far as necessities are concerned, therefore (and all references to poverty have been references to a lack of necessities), the unequal distribution is sufficient to account for poverty, quite apart from waste. Regarding their references to the increase of production, and the decrease of waste, under Socialism, I am quite prepared to agree, remembering that capitalism has been called a system for preventing production rather than a system of production. That, however, was not the point.

In the pamphlet originally under notice, the authors say "the majority of the people must first be converted to Socialist ideas" and "until then, Socialism must be to the legislator not a State, but a guiding principle, and he is prepared to co-operate with any political party which will introduce measures leading in the right direction." The explanation of this appears in the reply to my criticism, wherein it is stated that "as the tendency to Socialism becomes stronger it will also become wider . . . and will extend . . . to members of all classes." Here it is assumed that the capitalist class will assist in the realisation of Socialism. With us the assumption is that the capitalist class will fight in defence of its position of social and economic privilege as all previous privileged classes have done, and that the working class must work out its emancipation in the teeth of the opposition of the class which enslaves them. At present the capitalist class is prepared to use any means to safeguard its position, and even if we were to assume that, when the Socialist movement is strong enough, it will, making a virtue of necessity, bow to the inevitable, even then we should be compelled to insist that the movement is primarily that of the working class towards its emancipation, and any member of any section of society must adopt the standpoint of the working class—the socially useful class—to take part in that movement. The idea of Socialism being a guide to the legislator pending the conversion of the majority to Socialism is, therefore, extremely improbable, while the contrary seems much more likely: that the legislator, being a capitalist legislator, will do all that lies in his power to strengthen the position of his class, pending that Socialist majority which will inevitably mean the abolition of the system, the class, and the legislation he stands to support. The establishment of Socialism is dependent upon the majority, when the case will be altered and the majority, through the political machine as being most convenient, will establish Socialism, and not the Government legislating "Socialistic measures" on an unconverted people.

"WHICH WAY BLOWS THE WIND?"

We have had occasion to lament the absence of too funny! Since his from our ranks of the extraordinary self-con-intellectuals who, in traditions on those other countries, have Socialist questions he enrolled themselves under the banner of nobody takes Mr. Wells Socialism. There will seriously. A young man soon be no occasion for who has achieved con-any such complaint. siderable success in Already some of the Jules Verne line best known names in of novel writing, he science, art and liter- appears to have sud-ature are inscribed denly conceived the among Socialists, and idea that he knows now we are able to add something about So-to their number the cialism and practical

name of one of the most politics, and is an in-original and imagina- spired teacher. Instead tive writers of modern of which he is only times, that of H. G. suffering from a rather Wells, who last week had attack of swelled joined the Central head Branch of the S.D.F. *Justice*, 25/4/08.

H. M. Hyndman, in an article entitled "Labourism and Socialism," wrote: "Labourism in short is a sorry attempt to dish Socialism. It will not succeed in the long run. But in the meantime it (the Labour Party) may give us some trouble and deceive the ignorant."—*Justice*, 27/1/06.

He thought the situa- had changed. The position of Thorne at the present time was a little doubtful and invidious, and yet they were obliged to allow Thorne to run as a Labour candidate. The Labour Party resolution at Hull contained the whole object of the S.D.P., and he thought with that in view and bearing in mind the resolutions of the last two International Congresses, we ought to accept our own resolution. *Justice*, 25/4/08.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. L. B. (Manchester).—1. Could you give me a good definition of Capital? 2. I suppose Marx, when he mentions labour, includes mental and physical. 3. Will wine increase in value without labour of any kind? Many years ago an aerolite fell in Sweden. The curator of the museum bought it for £84. Did labour create the aerolite and give it value?—1. Perhaps the best general definition of capital is "Wealth used for the object of obtaining a profit." In the narrowest technical sense, capital is money used to obtain more money; but Marx's own formula (in "Capital," p. 133) is as simple and direct as any student could wish. Our correspondent is referred thereto. 2. Alexander Bain has shown in his "Mind and Body" that it is impossible to separate mental from physical actions, and that the two are inseparably connected. And Marx himself had already recognised this fact in "Capital," (p. 11) where he says: "different productive activities are each a productive expenditure of human brains, nerves and muscles, and in this sense are human labour." But it should be noted that the apologists for capitalism usually state that Marx only dealt with *manual* labour, and left out of consideration the organising and directive activities required in production. This is a deliberate falsification of Marx's position. (See "Capital," pp. 311, 321, 322 (Vol. I).) 3. No. For wine to reach a given stage in ripeness or maturity, it is necessary to store it under certain conditions in specially constructed buildings, vaults, etc. This often involves a heavy initial outlay, to which there is to be added the cost of maintenance and upkeep of these places, and the various plants (machinery, etc.) used therein. To replace all these means of production a certain sum is set aside yearly, depending upon the average time these things last under normal wear and tear. Obviously the longer the wine is stored, the larger is the total amount of labour expended upon the storage, and—in general—the higher will be the price of the wine. With reference to the aerolite, there is here a confusion of price and value. Price is the amount of money given for a thing, while value is the social labour-time embodied in the thing. On the average, and taken over sufficient periods of time, price is the monetary exponent of value, but in detail "the deviations of market prices from values are continual," while, strange though it may seem, things may have a price without having value. Marx says: "Objects that in themselves are no commodities, such as conscience, honour, etc., are capable of being offered for sale by their holders and of thus acquiring, through their price, the form of commodities. Hence an object may have a price without having value." ("Capital," p. 75.) Labour did not create the aerolite, nor, except for the small amount of energy expended in bringing it to the curator—did it give the aerolite value. The price paid was entirely the subjective estimate of the curator for his museum purposes.

The heavy pressure on our space this month has necessitated the holding over of several very interesting articles for inclusion in our August number. In view of the great educational value of the matter now appearing in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, comrades are urged to redoubled efforts in pushing the sale of the Party organ.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

SUNDAYS.		5th	12th	19th	26th
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	H. Newman	P. Dumenil	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus
"	7.30	J. E. Roe	A. W. Pearson	P. Dumenil	J. E. Roe
Barking Broadway	11.30	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	A. Reginald	H. C. Phillips
Clapham Common	8.30	T. A. Jackson	A. Anderson	J. MacManus	T. A. Jackson
Finsbury Park	8.30	F. C. Watts	T. A. Jackson	A. Anderson	A. Anderson
"	6.30	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Ilford, Roden Street	7.30	J. Kennett	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother
Manor Park	11.30	H. C. Phillips	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	J. Kennett
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	A. Anderson	J. Crump	T. W. Allen	R. H. Kent
Peckham Rye	6.30	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	J. Crump	P. Dumenil
Tooting Broadway	11.30	P. Dumenil	J. MacManus	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson
"	7.30	T. A. Jackson	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	J. E. Roe
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	T. W. Allen	G. H. Smith	F. E. Dawkins	A. Pearson
"	7.30	A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Church Hill	7.30	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen
West Ham, Beckton Road	11.30	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	T. A. Jackson	F. E. Dawkins
Wimbledon Common	8.30	J. E. Roe	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	J. MacManus
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Crump
"	7.30	G. H. Smith	J. Crump	F. W. Stearn	G. H. Smith
MONDAYS.		6th	13th	20th	27th
Beckton Road	8.30	—	H. King	—	W. Gifford
Upton Park	8.30	F. E. Dawkins	—	G. Pryor	—
WEDNESDAYS.		8th	15th	22nd	29th
Wilson St., New Cross Road	8.30	H. Newman	A. Reginald	E. Morrell	A. Reginald
Paddington, Kilburn Lane	8.30	G. H. Smith	T. W. Allen	F. C. Watts	J. H. Halls
THURSDAYS.		9th	16th	23rd	30th
Battersea, Prince's Head	8.0	J. E. Roe	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe
Highbury Corner	8.30	J. Fitzgerald	T. A. Jackson	J. Fitzgerald	F. E. Dawkins
Tottenham, St. Ann's Road	8.30	A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins	F. W. Stearn	T. A. Jackson
FRIDAYS.		10th	17th	24th	31st
Paddington, Prince's Head	8.30	J. H. Halls	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	G. H. Smith
Tooting Broadway	8.30	P. Dumenil	J. MacManus	P. Dumenil	J. MacManus
SATURDAYS.		4th	11th	18th	25th
Fountain, Tolworth, Surbiton	7.30	A. Reginald	H. J. Newman	F. C. Watts	A. Pearson

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BURNLEY.—G. H. Schofield, Sec., 77, Parliament Street.

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FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 at Lockheart's, Walham Grn.

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PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. at Club. Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—T. Wilkins, Sec., 4, Marlborough Rd., Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—J. H. Crump, Secretary, 623, Forest Road, Walthamstow, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

ART, LABOUR
and
SOCIALISM.
By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Price - One Penny.

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22, Great James Street, London, W.C.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

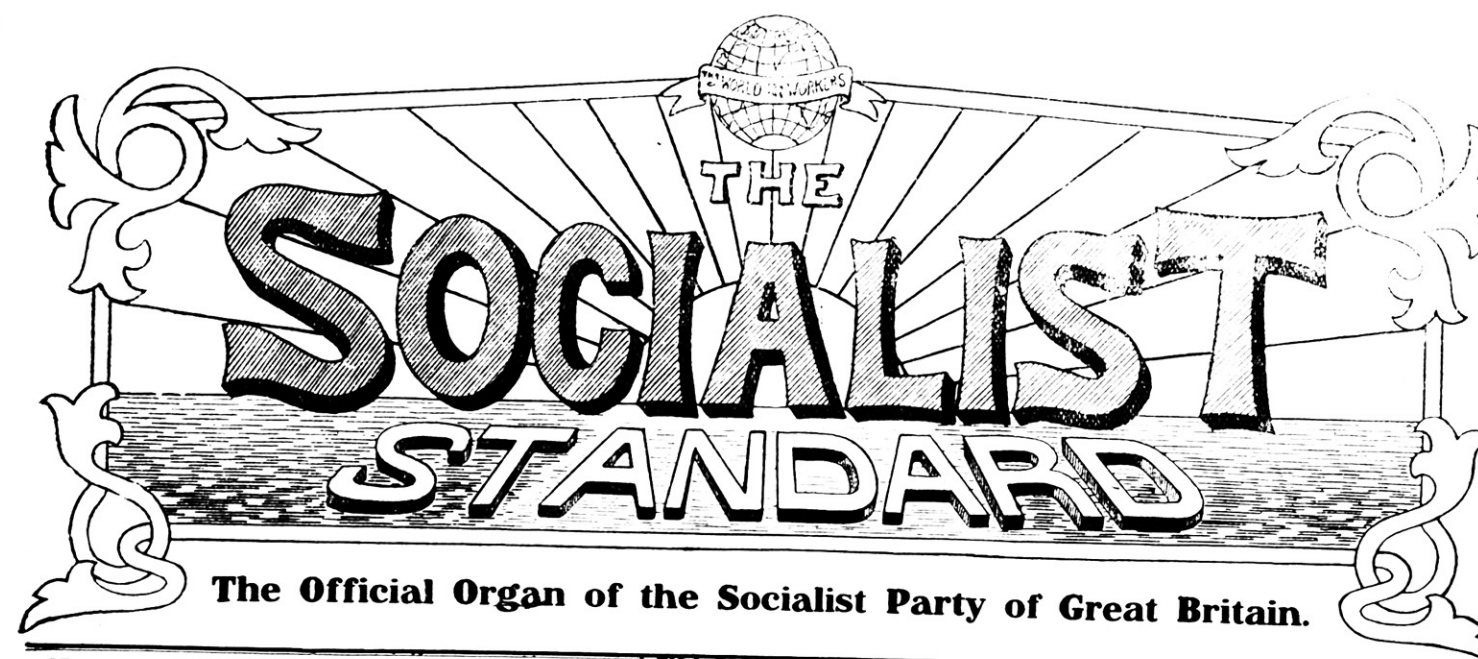
Address.....

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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 48. Vol. 4.]

LONDON, AUGUST, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHO ARE THE IMPOSSIBILISTS?

It is obvious that the revolutionary attitude of the S.P.G.B. is making headway within the ranks of the S.D.P. It is recognised by many members of the latter organisation that the advocacy of reforms is *not* the work of a Socialist.

The Duty of a Socialist

(in his capacity as propagandist) is to explain briefly and lucidly the position the working class occupy to-day. He must bring the worker to understand that he is a wage slave, compelled by dire necessity to sell his labour-power in return for wages. He must teach the worker to recognise that he belongs to a class who are—and will be—kept in economic bondage until the arrival and institution of the Socialist Republic. This method of propaganda—certainly the correct one—adopted by the S.P.G.B. is growing with such rapidity that the wire-pullers of the S.D.P. can no longer pursue a policy of ignoring methods.

Some time has elapsed since Harry Quelch announced his intention of dealing with "impossibilism," and of proving the necessity of the advocacy of certain reforms beneficial to the working-class. Behold, now, the long promised article (*Justice*, June 13/08). The article was a reply to the following letter submitted to "Tattler":—

I have also had the following letter handed to me by the Editor:—

"Dear Comrade,—Will you clear up for me the following point—viz., the position of our organisation towards impossibilism? The controversy between the impossibilists and the S.D.P. I am unable to clear up to my own satisfaction. Socialism teaches that there is an iron law of wages which drags down wages to the level of subsistence. If this is a fact, how can any reform alter the operation of this law? In other words, is not a poverty-stricken working class a necessity under capitalism? In reference to unemployment, if unemployment is a necessity of the ruling class, what is the use of appealing to that class for the right to work? I have heard our comrade Hyndman say that the provision of work for the unemployed would mean the collapse of capitalism. But capitalism being the cause of unemployment, to abolish unemployment is it not necessary to first abolish capitalism? Dear comrade, if you will solve this problem for me you will earn my gratitude."

Our organisation is opposed to "impossibilism" because it is impossible, and we are Social-Democrats, not impossibilists. The impossibilist position may be summed up as follows: The emancipation of the working-class can only be achieved by the working-class themselves. In order for the working class to achieve its emancipation it is necessary that the workers should be educated, organised and class-conscious. But no reforms of any advantage to the workers are possible under capitalism; therefore the workers cannot become educated, etc., until they have emancipated themselves; yet they cannot emancipate themselves until they are educated.

"Tattler's" summing up of the impossibilist position contains some truth, and we recognise its truth because the italicised passages may be used against the reform-mongering parties like the S.D.P. and I.L.P., e.g., "We do not preach

pure Socialism to the workers because they do not understand it, and they do not understand it because we preach reforms instead," say these parties.

The argument from our point of view turns upon

What is Meant by Education.

If "Tattler" takes education in its narrowest sense, then the educated class and snobocracy of the universities should be revolutionary to the core. That such is not the case, however, even "Tattler" knows. Does education necessarily mean a knowledge of the higher mathematics, Greek, and chemistry? No! Education from the Socialist point of view is a recognition of that class antagonism prevalent in society to-day, and a consciousness that the workers as a class must combine in opposition to the capitalist class and its supporters for the purpose of taking, holding, and controlling the political machine, and subsequently the means of life, in their own interest.

The full recognition of this basic principle of Socialist propaganda and of the uncompromising action necessary to the attainment of the above object is absolutely essential from our point of view, and the moment the individual unit of society recognises this and acts accordingly, he is, from the Socialist view-point, *educated*.

Unless the workers are educated in this sense all efforts at emancipation will be as futile as those already attempted. And that is why "they cannot emancipate themselves until they are educated."

The administration of education at present lies in the hands of the capitalist class, who will take care that only those subjects tending to keep the workers in subjection, and to make them

More Efficient Producers

shall be taught. The education in Socialist principles takes place after the worker has had his mind chloroformed by the paid agents of the capitalist class.

But before leaving this we may point out that the S.D.P., whilst believing in the class war, has many prominent members of its organisation who state that, in the struggle for working-class emancipation the workers will be led and guided by members of the middle class. They are, apparently, ignorant of the fact that Socialism will not arrive until the class war has reached its most acute stage. It will then be a struggle between *two* classes—the working class and the capitalist class. It is difficult to discern where another class comes in.

"Tattler" admits that "as long as capitalism lasts there will be unemployed," which admission proves the futility and fatuity of approaching the capitalist class for measures of alleviation. Such being the case, it should be the duty of the S.D.P.—instead of advocating the "Right to Work"—to teach the worker that capitalism demands a large margin of unemployed in order

to keep down wages and the standard of living, and to give an increase in profits. Instead, the S.D.P. have for 25 years marched battalions of unemployed from one end of the country to the other, gulling, defrauding, and deceiving the industrial outcasts by telling them this, that and the other Bill will help them. The S.D.P. know perfectly well that the capitalist class will not, in fact, *dare* not, tamper with the unemployed problem. That is the rock upon which capitalism rests. Take it away and your whole system is abolished. Do the S.D.P. think the capitalist class are going to interfere, knowingly, with their own interests?

If remedial measures were of any good, how is it that to-day there are

A Larger Number of Unemployed

than ever. Frederick Engels wrote in 1886 the following: "Meanwhile each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question 'what to do with the unemployed'; but while the number of the unemployed keep swelling from year to year, there is no answer to that question." Since that date the number of unemployed has increased. Industrial development and the perfection of machinery grows apace; with that goes the displacement of human labour and consequently an increase of the unemployed. Karl Marx states in "Das Capital," "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital . . . grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."

Along with the exploitation of the working class grows the increasing intelligence of the workers, who are being organised in order that when the inevitable collapse of the present system takes place, they, the workers, will be competent to deal with the new method and state of society. We, as Socialists, must point out that Socialism is the only hope. That is our aim. That is our sole object. The S.D.P. do not do so, but waste their time deluding the working class into believing that some reforms are good. The "impossibilist" method will not prevent reforms being given by the capitalist class, nor can we avoid accepting reform measures passed by the governing class when it suits their interest to do so. What *does* matter is the wasting of energies and activities upon the advocacy of reforms, the splitting up of the forces of the workers into opposing factions, each desirous of seeing its own particular pet and paltry palliative pushed persistently and prominently before all others. In these circumstances the workers are necessarily lacking in the one common principle to which all could give allegiance.

The S.D.P. have 48 palliatives down for immediate enactment.

Note the Confusion

existing in that organisation. Harry Quelch's principle desire is to see a "Citizen Army" in existence. Hyndman says that Payment of Members' Election Expenses is the most important. Mrs. Bridges Adams and "Comrade" Warwick insist on the agitation for the Feeding of School Children being the first object of S.D.P. propagandists. Some advocate Old Age Pensions at an age when the majority of the workers are dead; others say that an important reform is the Municipalisation of the Pawnshops, while Mr. J. F. Green says the Eight Hour Day is a measure that he "would like to see in the forefront." We anticipate being told that these are but individual members, but each of them has his own particular coterie of supporters, and further, each of the reforms advocated by them and their following is on the list of "immediate reforms" wanted by the S.D.P. It must be borne in mind that while these reforms are being advocated Socialism is being neglected and put in the background. If this is not so then reform and Socialism are synonymous terms, according to the S.D.P.

But then "Tattler" again disagrees and says "There are two directions in which reforms at the present moment could materially benefit the worker," viz., by a reduction of the hours of labour and, the better housing of the poor. With reference to the first of these it must be remembered that the shorter working day generally means a greater intensity of labour during the time the worker is employed, the

Increased Strain

being met by the greater period for recuperation. Many instances have been cited in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD where a reduction in the hours of labour has led to an increase of unemployment in the particular trade affected. Such increase of production with fewer working hours causes the market to become overstocked owing to the non-effective demand for the commodities produced to excess. During these periods of glutted markets the workers who were employed producing the goods are either placed on short time or cease work until those stocks are depleted.

"Tattler" tells us that it is because the hours of labour devoted to the production of surplus-value are decreased that capitalists always fight against any reduction of the working day. There may be some exceptions to the rule, but very few capitalists revert to a ten hour day after trying one of eight hours. Messrs. Lever Bros., Mather & Platts, Allan & Co., Brunner Mond, and other firms have not built up their great businesses on a system detrimental to their own interests.

Says "Tattler" (same article):—

Granted that a certain proportion of the day's labour is necessary labour, it is quite clear that the amount of exploitation and of surplus value is in direct proportion to the prolongation of the working day. Thus, given a day of ten hours, four of which represent necessary labour, there are six hours devoted to the production of surplus value. The worker works, then, four hours for himself and six for the capitalist. If the hours are reduced to eight, everything else remaining equal, the worker then only works four hours for the capitalist instead of six. That is certainly a material advantage, and it is quite easy to understand, therefore, the vehemence with which the capitalists always fight against any reduction of the working-day.

"Everything else remaining equal" Mr. Quelch (or "Tattler," or the Editor of *Justice*—they are all the same chap) may have a case. It is precisely because everything else doesn't remain equal that he has none. It must be recognised that if the workers obtain any

Material Advantage

it can only be taken from the capitalist class, who lose thereby. All statistics in connection with the production of wealth prove conclusively that, in spite of the reduction of the hours of labour, the workers (who produce all the wealth) are becoming poorer and poorer, whilst the idle and luxurious capitalist class get richer. Marx has pointed out that, in connection with the reduction of the hours from 12 to 10 per day, "The denser hour of the 10 hours working-day contains more labour—i.e., expended labour power, than the more porous hour of the 12 hour working day. The product, therefore, of one of the former hours has as much or more value than the product of one and one-fifth of the latter hours. Apart from the increased yield of relative surplus-value through

the heightened productiveness of labour, the same mass of value is now produced for the capitalist say by three and one-third hours of surplus labour and six and two-thirds of necessary labour, as was previously produced by four hours of surplus labour and eight hours of necessary labour."

The worthy "Tattler" has manufactured a premise not of fact in order to justify a specious argument. Knock away the premise and the bottom is out of the case. By the "Tattler" method anything can be proven. From the Socialist point of view his position on Housing is also wrong. Houses to-day are erected, not for living in, but for the purpose of making profit. If the habitations in the "garden cities" produce more profit than those in the slums, it is reasonable to assume the gradual disappearance and demolition of Slumdom. The wages in Bournville, Port Sunlight, Ancolts and Whitechapel are in each case determined by the cost of subsistence. The "garden cities" mentioned naturally produce better and more efficient wage slaves than those in the slums.

No matter how we turn, no matter what reform is instituted, there the capitalist class, controlling political power and holding the wires of the administrative machinery, are able to use the same to their own advantage.

"Tattler" then concludes:

At the same time it must be borne in mind that the tendency is always, not only to keep wages down to the subsistence level, but also to lower the level by reducing the standard of comfort.

These remarks prove

The Logical Position

of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Because the tendency is always on the downward grade, notwithstanding the remedial measures advocated by the S.D.P. and other reform organisations, reform is absolutely useless, as it cannot, on "Tattler's" own admission, prevent the downward grade. It is evident, then, that the education of the working class must proceed on lines identical with the policy of the S.P.G.B. Whatever the party, the workers can only achieve their emancipation on such lines. Socialism itself implies a scientific organisation of industry, and this can only be realised by class-conscious Socialists.—CONCILIO ET LABORE.

COMMENTS AND CRITIQUES.

The article "Who are the Impossibleists?" which appears in another column, deals at length with the statement Mr. Quelch, Editor of *Justice*, has permitted himself to make recently. I may, however, here be permitted, as the matter is of importance, to supplement that article by a few remarks of my own upon a point that it does not cover.

Seldom can Mr. Quelch be drawn into explanations of the S.D.P. attitude upon what he is pleased to call "impossibilism." He knows too well the danger of that. Consequently, most of his references have been but very ill-natured ebullitions of vinegary vituperation directed against the personal of the S.P.G.B. And as Mr. Quelch is something of an expert in the language of the literary hooligan, he has, doubtless, often had occasion to congratulate himself upon the effectiveness of his efforts in this direction. Readily conceding him pre-eminence in a department we prefer not to enter, we persistently emphasize the unassailable position we occupy as a working-class party, and continually point out how, because they do not occupy our position, the other parties and the individuals composing them have been driven by the pressure of circumstances into taking illogical action with pitifully futile results.

However, Mr. Quelch has recently allowed himself to be drawn into something like a serious criticism of "impossibilism," and has again demonstrated, not only the folly of his own party's attitude, but the extent to which he is obliged to follow the line of *suppression veri, suggestis falsi* in his endeavours to bolster his own case. Possibly his apology for an argument will have the effect of impressing a few, but it is certain that the man or woman who has taken the trouble to analyse the statement will at once

perceive that it is a rather clumsy attempt to mislead. Take the paragraph which follows and dissect it with me.

That is from *Justice* for June 13th, and the italics are Mr. Quelch's own.

Now Mr. Quelch has, quite unintentionally, divided his paragraph into two parts just where I should myself have cut it. A distinct break comes immediately before the italicised portion. Something has been left out there that destroys completely the continuity of the argument. What is that something and why has it been omitted?

The omitted sentence following the words "In order for the working class to achieve its emancipation it is necessary that the workers should be educated, organised, and class-conscious," would read something like this: "The education and organisation of the workers can only come through reforms." The rest of the paragraph could then follow on coherently.

The point Mr. Quelch wishes to emphasise is clear in the words he himself italicises, viz., the contradictory contention of the "impossibleists" that reforms are useless and yet without them the workers cannot become educated. But if he had put in the sentence I claim he should have put in for coherent reasoning, everyone with any knowledge of our position would have seen that he was stating the opposite of the fact in order to justify a conclusion that reflected upon our sense of logic; in plain, blunt English, that he was lying his way to a conclusion damaging to us. So he drops the essential connecting link from its proper place, and suggests it in his final sentence.

The fact is that we have never contended that the education of the workers is effected through palliatives. We have urged, urged strongly, the very reverse, viz., that the effect of palliative mongering must be the utter confusion of the mind of the workers, and to that extent delay their effective organisation. That being so, Mr. Quelch's argument becomes at once absurd.

Among other reasons advanced for the "Day-light Saving Bill" are (1) that it would benefit the physique, general health, and welfare of all classes of the community, and (2) reduce the industrial, commercial, and domestic expenditure on artificial light. From which it appears that if the unemployed rose with the sun their general health would improve. I wonder they have not tried this method of improving their physique, instead of working for wages.

The second reason explains why chambers of commerce, borough councils, and railway companies supported the measure. Reduction of industrial, commercial, and domestic expenditure would be to their advantage. The advantages to the workers are not nearly so obvious.

Mr. James Billington, vice-president of the Amal. Assn. of Operative Cotton Spinners, speaking at a dinner given to Mr. Thos. Ashton, President, said "Instead of having driven trade out of the country the unions have made the British workman what he is to-day—the best workman on the face of the earth. That even the employers admit. By our existence what we have prevented the employers taking from us? . . . Taken all round the spinners are the best paid body of workmen in the kingdom."

I have before me extracts from the half-yearly reports of 26 cotton-spinning concerns. One each paid a dividend equal to 18½, 11½, and 10½ per cent. per annum respectively, 17 paid equal to 10, 1 to 7, 2 to 5 and 1 equal to 4 per cent. per annum. There remaining one paid no dividend.

These figures are enough to make any operative spinner proud. Dividends being the proceeds of the robbery of the workers, it looks as if we are to understand from Mr. Billington's

remark that the more the workers are robbed the better for them.

"Quartus," writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, 2nd July, 1908, gives an example of what a young curate in a working-class district has to contend with in the way of slums, sweating, slack trade, and their attendant evils. "He (the curate) reflects on the little that legislation has effected in removing obvious evils and making it easier to do right." Recognising this, in our typical case the curate ultimately becomes a vigorous reformer, turns agitator, and perhaps joins the I.L.P.!

Our curate then would be in the same sad case as the "Socialist" who, recognising the futility of reform from the working-class standpoint, persists in agitating for them, "because we cannot let the children starve whilst Socialism is coming." Yet Mr. Quartus does not see he has written anything funny.

The Editor of the *Christ Church Monthly Visitor*, Burton-on-Trent, thinks that the reply of the Socialist Party of Great Britain on the question "Can a Christian be a Socialist?" "will not commend itself to believers in the Lord Jesus Christ." Ah well! we must take the consequences.

A member of the Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society (affiliated to the I.L.P.), speaking in criticism of the S.P.G.B., said he had no fault to find with our Socialism, it was absolutely correct; so also was the Socialism of his society, the I.L.P., S.D.P., and the Fabian Society. He was working with others to alter the I.L.P. Altering it to what? Why is he concerned to change that which is "absolutely correct"? If, as he says, our position, based as it is on a recognition of the class antagonism now prevailing, is correct, the position of the I.L.P., which denies the existence of the class struggle, is wrong. If our argument as to the futility of palliatives is sound, then the S.D.P. policy of reform propaganda is unsound.

"Economist," in *The Grocer* (4.7.08), deals succinctly with the development of the system that has ruthlessly crushed out the little shop-keeper and established the large capitalist and the trustified form of production and distribution on top. If the writer is not a member of the S.P.G.B. he ought to be.

For the quarter ending March 31st the directors of Brunner Mond & Co. declared a dividend at the rate of 30 per cent. for the year on ordinary shares, and 7 per cent. on preference shares. £100,000 was placed to reserve fund, £2,500 to the writing off of the patent account, and £35,000 was carried forward!

Small wonder that the Brunners and Mond's are such enthusiastic supporters of the eight hours day.

"The arrangements for the International Peace Congress, which opens in London on Sunday, July 26, are nearly completed. The President of the Congress is Lord Courtney of Penwith, and the Hon. Treasurer Lord Avebury. A special fund is being raised in connection with the Congress, among the latest donors to which is Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has given the sum of £100. A meeting for adults will take place in Queen's Hall on July 28, the speakers being Lord Courtney, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Dr. Clifford. The United Labour Peace Demonstration in Trafalgar Square, fixed for the last day of the Congress, Saturday, August 1, is being officially supported by the following important bodies:—The Trade Unions Congress Parliamentary Committee, the London Trades Council, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, the Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the General Federation of Trade Unions."—*Manchester Guardian*, 2.7.08.

A notable combination. "Which way blows the wind?"

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor.

THE FALL OF KEIR HARDIE.

Sir,

I have stood by Hardie through the years. I have held him to be a man apart from the motley group of mendacious and fakers of capitalism, to whom he has given political existence, and that he calls his Labour Party. I at one time allowed him to nominate me for membership of the National Branch, deciding that if this party was good enough for Hardie it should be good enough for me, and that if Hardie could do something with such elements I might. So I allowed myself to become a member of the Independent Labour Party, and have remained one up to within a week. I have hit out against the policy and tactics of the Party whenever I have occupied its platform, but I have retained my membership simply because of my reverence for Hardie. Again and again I have contended with S.D.F. men: "Hardie is something bigger than these reform fellows. He means more than reform. He is a revolutionist—a kind of eagle among carrion crows." But since last week I admit myself beaten. I have been sold. Most of the workers are sold many times. You knock down their idol and they instantly get another. I have not been sold many times, but I admit I have been once—in Hardie.

Edward VII by the grace of the god Capital, and, in obedience to its will, that he might secure for it some sort of a basis to contract a further loan with Russia, was deputed to go and kow-tow with the bloody Czar.

Hardie had an opportunity to bring home to the House of Commons the horrors of Russia, and to fix them upon the Czar, backed by his "black hundred."

And Hardie got up his case well. Oh, yes, the facts were all right and the rhetoric also. Not for one moment do I think that I could have marshalled the facts as well, or have painted the pictures as vividly. He gave them the thousands that have rotted in Russian prisons during the last two years; he gave them the thousands that have been butchered by the emissaries of the "black hundred." And he brought the whole of the atrocities home to the Czar, telling the "House" how the Czar had thanked the "black hundred" for murdering wholesale the people of Russia, under the cry that they were Jews, and adorning himself and his child with the badge of their order as a token of his appreciation of their services to Russia. Then Hardie was called upon by the Deputy-Speaker to withdraw.

Well, with such a case, with such an array of facts, themselves completely pointing the charge, one would have thought that the mere human instrument, called upon to belie himself and deny them would have refused with quiet scorn, and have surrendered himself to any consequences.

But Hardie did not do this. He lost touch with the murdered in Russia, and the thousands groaning in its prisons. He commenced melodramatic word-play with the politician, Emmett. He ducked and edged and quibbled, and allowed horrible facts to be smothered in a play of words between himself and the Deputy-Speaker. And then when the latter insisted that the charge be withdrawn, Hardie withdrew the charge so far as it referred to the Czar and his Government.

Like Dan. O'Connell, like Fergus O'Connor, like John Burns and a host of others—spouters, orators, fine rhetoricians, but not fighters, not revolutionists—so Hardie, when an opportunity arrived demanding that he should translate his speech into a bit of action, failed.

So Hardie has gone with the rest of them. The Socialist Movement has learnt that it must never trust him to use any great opportunity. Some of the papers had it that after "Artful Dodger" Asquith decided that he had bottled Hardie, he turned his face to his followers with a sardonic smile which said, "How's that for diplomacy?"

But had Asquith's man meant business, he might have retrieved his position even here, and the Whig lawyer might have had another unpleasant illustration of the fact that he who laughs last laughs best.

Had Hardie meant business, he might have proceeded with his speech, after the passage-at-arms with the Deputy-Speaker; he might have filled the ears of the "House" with the horrors of Russia; he might have piled fact upon fact proving what he had said, and then concluded: "the Russian Government is an autocracy, the Czar is a despot, and with these facts before me I say that the monstrous atrocities that I have laid before the 'House' are the direct expression of the will of the Czar and his infamous Councillors, that he alone is responsible, being autocrat and despot, and I refuse to withdraw the charge." Then "Artful Dodger" Asquith would have smiled quite another smile.

But Hardie didn't mean business—and why? Was it his Parliamentary screw; or fear of not getting a seat in another Parliament, or fear of disrupting further that strange motley he calls the Labour Party, or what? It matters not. Once more some little political mote got into the popular leader's eye and blurred his vision as to the great matter for which he was pleading.

Then there was Grayson. He tells the people he wanted to say something. Why didn't he say it? Some of the papers say he was upon his feet before Henderson. Some of them say that the Deputy-Speaker called Grayson. Anyway, the pair got the floor pretty much together. Why did not Grayson proceed without in the least recognising the existence of the man who had a compact with the Liberals to shut up the debate at a given time, or if it became in any way dangerous? Grayson may tell the mob outside, who have never been into the House of Commons, that he was prevented, but this will not go down with any man who has been into the Commons, and who knows that it requires a combination of circumstances rather more forcible than the ones of this debate to prevent a man in dead earnest from having his say in a hole like the House of Commons.

Anyhow, the debate upon the King's visit to Russia has been fruitful of much good to the English workers. It has smashed some more idols for some of us. It has shown us that the Labour Party is not independent at all, that it does make alliances with the Liberal Party to shut up debates when they become over-verbose. All this is education.

If the English Government would only try Russian methods on our spouters ever so little it would still further educate. But British capitalists are too wise for this. You mustn't frighten the popular idols of the people. Prospects of prison, disability, or banishment would turn most of these swans into geese. This would let people see too much. Disillusionment would set in fast. Therefore our Edward by the grace of Grab, going to the one of Russia may say, "Behold I show thee a more excellent way to rule thy people. Do not murder and torture and crush in that old-fashioned way. Bamboozle thy people instead. Let them spout and have offices, and generally play the game, and soon you will find them so docile that, should any of their strong words annoy, you shall but threaten them with the least of these other things, to find them eager to withdraw. Tut, tut, man, the father who has a child well broken in doesn't require to be always using the stick. He only requires now and then to show it, and this is more than sufficient."

But they do tell me that in Russia the people have gone beyond this spouting and office-holding and political game-playing, and refuse to have it at any price. They say that they have sighted the slavery underneath it all, and prefer prison, banishment and death to it. And if this is so I don't know what Edward can say to Nicholas that will matter much. It seems to me that the same game played by both, with a people of this sort, must be nearly up. There are men and women in Russia of another sort than our Graysons and Hardies.—Yours, etc.,

JOHN TAMLYN.

NOTICE.

We regret to have to announce that a further installment of "The Capitalist Class" is unavoidably held over.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard.



SATURDAY, AUG. 1, 1908.

Exit Unrestricted Competition.

"The truth is that the assumption made by economists and by public opinion during the greater part of the last century, that unchecked competition would always secure the public the cheapest and most efficient service, is one which does not apply to railways, and which may be found in the future to be inapplicable to an increasing number of other businesses. The risks attending competition are too great."—*Morning Post*.

Of course! Unrestricted competition is a good thing, the thing upon which the greatness of the Empire has been built up and depended, the thing that made for stamina and fitness, that developed enterprise, and all the rest of it, until—the risks became too great, until, that is, it ceased to pay. Now we drop the cant and go in for combines and the elimination of competitive waste, because that way lies the larger profit. If the maintenance of the ancient method spells the disintegration of the Empire—perish Empire! Perish fitness, perish enterprise, perish everything, but leave us still our profits!

Capitalist Concentration.

Some of the effects of this railway combine are already making themselves felt. In London the G.W.R. and the G.C.R. have managed to close eight town offices between them. Similar savings are being effected in other departments. A reduction of the Staff of the Railway Clearing House is rumoured and will inevitably occur. The L. & N.W.R. and the Midland Railway will find themselves in the position of being forced to take steps similar to those taken by the G.N.R. and G.C.R. (into which combination, by the way, the G.E.R. has now entered) and will take those steps gladly. Indeed, pooling arrangements have for a long period been in operation between the L. & N.W.R. and the Midland Railway, and a working agreement exists between the L. & N.W.R. and the L. & Y. Co.—a case of intelligent anticipation. Notwithstanding official denials, it is absolutely certain that an extension of this agreement is being arranged, and out will go more workers on to the labour market.

The Struggle for Existence Intensifies.

Every economy means, as was pointed out in the last issue, displaced labour. Every move toward capitalist efficiency means a greater intensity of labour exploitation and a keener struggle for existence. The nationalisation of the railways offers no way of escape to the railway workers. As the capitalist *Manchester Guardian* points out in its article on Railway Alliances:—

"Prices on the Stock Exchange rise when such a scheme is announced and drop at the prospect of a continuance of present methods. We may expect, therefore, that when the time comes for the consideration of some larger scheme of national management our present railway proprietors and managers will be among the most convincing witnesses in favour of its economy and administrative advantages."

Or, in other words, the capitalist class will itself be quite ready to appreciate the advantages of nationalisation because that means, under the present system, the conservation of their class interests. Better conditions for the workers, even for those the elimination of waste has spared employment, is a matter of very minor moment indeed, and then, is conditional upon increased productivity.

The Way Out.

No. Against the trend of commercial development toward concentration nothing can stand. No reform, no misnamed palliative, is of any avail to appreciably soften the grinding, crushing, devastating effect of its outworking upon the proletariat. There is no solution at all for the problem, no hope at all for the workers, outside Socialism. Only the Socialist Party has the message of good cheer. And the Socialist Party (that is, in England, the S.P.G.B.), while insisting upon the futility of any reform and the futility of the reformer, points out that capitalism, gorging itself to satiety with every increasing profit on the one hand, is perforce digging its own grave on the other. This concentration has effected the practical elimination of the capitalist himself from the sphere of actual production. The working class is in command of the workshop and the factory. The whole process of wealth creation is in the hands of wage earners. Socialism will give them the control of the product as capitalism has given them control of production. Only then will the workers achieve their freedom. Meanwhile our business is to go forward, undeterred by the influences that astute capitalism has surrounded the Labour Leader with to his undoing, refusing to dabble with the pettifoggeries of the reform parties, that must spell no more than disappointment or apathy or both to the workers misguided enough to follow at the tail of such agitations,—to go forward with our work of preaching discontent, of explaining economic phenomena in the light of Socialist philosophy, of agitating, educating, and organising the working class until, recognising their position and their power, they accomplish the capture of political might in order that they may secure themselves in the possession of the means of living, and enjoy unmolested the product of their own toil.

GETTING SOCIALISM.

THERE is much misunderstanding as to the meaning of the phrase "The coming Social Revolution" as used by Socialists. Many inquiring workers, befogged by the teaching of the I.L.P. and of other reforming bodies, complain that they cannot conceive of a comparatively sudden or "catastrophic" change carrying society from Capitalism into Socialism. Hence, it seems, some of the attempted justification of a "palliative" program—a means of sliding into Socialism while the masters are not looking, you know. (Socialism to come upon us "as a thief in the night," was Mr. Keir Hardie's felicitous phrase, I believe.)

This misunderstanding would appear to arise largely from an over-consumption of Blatchfordian "rational Socialism," and of "Looking Backward"—"News from Nowhere" Utopianism—though these, perhaps, are the least noxious of I.L.P. teachings. Certainly, to wake up one morning in Capitalism, do a barricade "turn" and go to sleep that night in Morris's blissful "Nowhere" is not what the Socialist means by "the coming Social Revolution."

Say Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto," "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as a ruling class (italics mine); and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"Of course in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions

of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production."

Also in recent years Kautsky has said in his work "The Social Revolution": "It is therefore, the conquest of the powers of State by a hitherto oppressed class—in other words, the political revolution, which is an essential characteristic of the social revolution in its narrower sense, as opposed to social reform."

Now to "raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class"—"the conquest of the powers of State," is conceivable.

That, given an organised, prepared, Socialist proletariat become the ruling class, its delegates can proceed to the enactment of transition measures (necessarily temporary) which in the aggregate will knock from under class-divided society its basis—private ownership and control of the means and instruments of production and distribution, thus causing the disappearance of classes, is, we hold, conceivable.

Given the common ownership and control of the means of production, the consequent disappearance of classes, dominant and subject, and the time necessary to get things working smoothly, and Socialism (Industrial Democracy; the Co-operative Commonwealth) is here: the Revolution is accomplished.

Now how about the other alleged practical and "common-sense" method described by Keir Hardie and Co.? Is it conceivable that the workers' emancipation can be gained by an accumulation of reforms? Let us see.

Noisily trumpeted, apparently palliative reforms are at present dispensed—old age pensions on the cheap and devil-take-the-weak-and-old workmen's compensation—and are pointed to as proof of the triumphant policy of our I.L.P., S.D.P., etc., etc. reformers. But we point out that a million such reforms, with a little municipalisation and nationalisation of capital thrown in, will still leave the workers poor, subject to competition and unemployment—still a subject class. The bridge that can alone span the chasm between Capitalism and Socialism remains as ever—the acquisition of the control of industry by the working class.

Now the present controllers of industry are certainly not less aware of this fact than are the Socialists; and since they find domination sweet, and since history records not an instance of a dominant class voluntarily and of sweet reasonableness abdicating its controlling position, it follows that our capitalist masters will defend their control of the means and instruments of production by every device at their command, from reform dispensing to massacre. Long established privilege is not to be so easily abolished. Certainly, that our masters will kindly vote us, and hand over, one after another, the different industries, thus committing suicide as a class, is not conceivable.

The advocacy of reforms is mischievous because it does not prepare the workers for the tremendous task of beating the master class out of power, but rather teaches them to look to the masters for crumbs and, on Keir Hardie lines, for the piecemeal concession of Socialism.

No! we cannot reform into Socialism because the capitalist class will not abolish itself, while if we gain the power to take reforms we should indeed be foolish to halt on the road and try patching up capitalism. Our clear duty would be to expropriate the capitalist class and reorganise production and distribution as the common interest dictates. That is to say, establish Socialism.

J. H. H.

SPECIAL.

Several comrades will spend a week in Nottingham, commencing Aug. 17th. Place and time of meetings will be announced in the local Press. Any member willing to assist should communicate with the Gen. Secretary at once.

Volunteers are also wanted for a week's propaganda in Bedford, second week in September.

THE ONLY WAY FOR CLERKS.

A WORD TO THE NATIONAL UNION.

MR. HERBERT H. ELVIN is a hard-shelled Baptist—or so it would seem from his biographical notes, which appear (with portrait) in the March issue of *The Clerk*. He is also the General Secretary of the National Union of Clerks. In the capacity of Baptist he is after souls, and is still, we learn, "in great demand as a local preacher." As the secretary of the N.U.C. he is concerned with the salvation of bodies. In both departments his methods are the same. He builds temples to Ignorance and invites the unregenerate to come in and worship in order that they may be saved. His success as a Baptist church-builder may be unquestionable—I neither know nor care. But we of the S.P.G.B. are concerned with the measure of his success in the politico-economic sphere—meaning by success in this connection, the extent to which he may be able to induce clerical workers to regard his economic and political temple as a sanctuary from the deep damnation of their servitude.

Clerks have generally been regarded, not without reason, as amongst

THE MOST DESPERATE OF ALL THE DULLARDS

of the working class. The pathetic intensity of their passion for respectability, and the affectation of aloofness from the "corduroy brigade" which, as members of a "profession," they have, in the past particularly, displayed, have made their organisation a distinctly difficult task. Not even such an eminently respectable society as the N.U.C. seems to be, could have inspired in them any other than a feeling of lofty disdain had it not been that the operations of a highly organised capitalist system, ruthless in its working, and certainly entirely regardless of any suppositious differences between owners of stove-pipe hats and smokers of the black cutty, have crushed the clerk into some sort of recognition of the fact that, in common with all other working-class members, he is no more than a commodity in the labour market—and a very redundant commodity at that. Having, however, reached the point where he is beginning to see that his interests are, after all, bound up with those of the horny-handed sons of labour, it is of all things undesirable that he should have his development warped by being put upon a politico-economic dietry which, while it may be good enough for the sustenance of crustacean Baptists, is absolutely starvation fare for a healthy member of the working class.

Of course, Mr. Elvin cannot help being merely silly in the position of advisor to the clerks.

HIS BIBLICAL EXEMPLARS

and his contemporary religious mentors are hardly likely to guide him in the path that is economically right; and when a young man has been brought up to regard these as the embodiment of all the virtues, it is not surprising if he gives off "views" that are only notable for their, shall we say, absurdity. I sympathise with him in his unhappy position, but I must, all the same, baste his precious views. This one, for an example—

We should not allow our branches to become mere debating societies to discuss the good and the ill of Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, or any other ism outside trade unionism. To effect any great reform in the condition of the clerk we must first of all weld all clerks into a powerful organisation, and, knowing what I do of the temperament of the clerk, I am fully satisfied that we shall never be able to accomplish this if members try to bring the Union under the control of some political party, rather than work disinterestedly for the benefit of clerks as a whole.

Now I will defy Ramsay MacDonald, Robert Blatchford, Bruce Glasier, or any other accepted exponent of the art, to crowd more undiluted piffle into so small a compass. Toryism, Liberalism, and Socialism are taboo in the Union. The clerks are to regard Socialism as on a par with Toryism and Liberalism so far as the realisation of their "great reform" is concerned. It is of no consequence that Liberalism and Toryism are the political expressions of the interests

of the master class against which the clerks are to organise themselves. It is of no account that these masters are in politics simply in order to maintain their economic supremacy and the continued enslavement of the clerk. It does not matter that the Socialist Party stands in irreconcilable antagonism to the capitalist parties and is the only party through which the clerks and other workers may achieve any material improvement in their conditions. This is outside the purview of the trade-unionised clerk. He may come in, be he Tory or Liberal or nothing. He is to

KEEP MUM UPON EVERYTHING.

except the increase of the strength of the trade union, the payment of his dues, and other matters appertaining to the union, until there is a sufficient body "organised" to warrant a move being made toward that "great reform" and then—well, we will make a move!

I wonder whether Mr. Elvin has any definite notion of what that move must be toward, and how the N.U.C. is to proceed. I understand he does not favour strikes. He is opposed to discussion that may have the effect of opening the eyes of the politically blind. Does he, then, hope to peacefully persuade the masters to concede the "great reform"—whatever that may be? Surely even a Baptist is sufficiently awake to know the futility of that hope. How then?

Mr. Elvin seems to see, rather mistily, that he is up against a dead wall. And he takes refuge in "poetry." It's an old dodge, and rather a favourite with those who are faced at the end of their argumentative tether with an irrepressible note of interrogation. Mr. Elvin's refuge is Whittier, who exhorts the reader thus—

Perish party, perish clan,
Strike together while ye can,

and finishes

Let your hearts together beat
As the heart of one.

which is all doubtless very nice and inspiring, but doesn't get us much "forarder," seeing that we don't know yet what we are to strike at, or how we are to strike. We cannot strike economically because strikes are taboo. We cannot hope to induce the masters to give us our "great reform." Much more powerful organisations of much more highly skilled workers, e.g., the engineers, have failed dismally in that direction. And we cannot strike politically because, being at

POLITICAL SIXES AND SEVENS

(owing, in part, probably, to political discussion being barred in the Union) we cannot "strike together" as exhorted by the poet. On the whole it would seem easier to "Let our hearts together beat as the heart of one."

But to do Mr. Elvin justice, he is not quite done yet. He seems to be, although he does not say so directly, in favour of the move toward the "great reform" being made if all else fails, through the medium of the Labour Party. After all the "no politics in the Union" ukase, this seems to be a little confusing. Therefore Mr. Elvin hastens to assure us that the Labour Party is not a political party "in the general usage of the term." It is only a party taking political action. If that also is not clear perhaps this will be. "It" (the Labour Party) "is a conglomeration of the political parties. It is a union of those who are divided on questions like Home Rule, Education (sectarian or secular), Disestablishment of the Church; but are of one mind on matters affecting the interests of the workers."

Accept this for the fact it is not. Apparently Mr. Elvin believes that political parties "in the general usage of the term," are only concerned with questions like Home Rule, Disestablishment, etc. He doesn't seem to have an inkling of the truth that just as (according to him) the Labour Party is of one mind on matters affecting the interests of the workers, so the other parties are of one mind on matters affecting the interests of the capitalists. If the Labour Party was of one mind on questions of real working-class interest, if it was a political party "in the general usage of the term," it would not be the conglomeration of pettifogging palliative-mongers purveying preposterous pills for economic earthquakes that it is. It is as hopeless as the poet, as futile as Mr. Elvin's creed. It cannot effect any material improvement in the position of the working class.

But even if it could, how is it possible to secure the adherence of Liberal and Tory clerks in the

N.U.C. to the Labour Party if discussion of party politics is not allowed? To talk as Mr. Elvin talks about the difference between politics and party politics is simply more piffle. Political questions are broadly associated with political parties. Essential working-class politics are the politics of the party that is in irreconcilable opposition to the political parties of the capitalist class. That working class party is not the Labour Party. It is the Socialist Party. Yet Mr. Elvin puts

SOCIALISM IN THE CART

with Liberalism and Toryism and hauls them all outside his precious Union.

All this "baffle-headedness" and positively paralyzing stupidity may come of being a Baptist, or it may not. We of the Socialist Party of Great Britain are not concerned with the Baptist or greatly with Mr. Elvin. But when Mr. Elvin, the Baptist, takes up the position of an instructor of the working class and pours out the vials of his drivel upon the heads of those of our class who have in their ignorance elected him to their chieftainship, we step in to show the folly of the position and the disastrous results that must accrue. If Mr. Elvin is honest (and we have no reason for the present for supposing him otherwise), let him reconsider himself and see if he cannot fit himself adequately for the post of working class advisor—if that is what he desires to be. If, however, his union members prefer to follow his present lead; if their action is not guided in the future by a clearer apprehension of the position they occupy as clerks in the working class movement than their secretary seems to possess, they are in for some extremely painful experiences. But if they will take every opportunity of discussing the political situation in the light of the information the Socialist has; if they will study Socialism and let their actions be guided by Socialist science, they will go out to the fight—it will be a fight, sure enough—with no delusions about the capitulation of the opposing forces, with no misapprehensions on the score of the advantages to be derived from this or that big or little reform. They will know that there is no reform worth much more than a tinker's anathema from the working-class point of view. They will know that the only thing worth organising for, striving for, if needs be, dying for, is the control of the means by which they live. Without this control they have no voice in the disposal of the product of labour. They are slaves without the security that the chattel slave possessed. Their position is always precarious, always one of unhappy struggle; a position which is not, nor can be, altered in any single important aspect by any reform whatever. But given ownership and control of the means of living, and they have the guarantee of all the material things of life.

THE SLAVE HAS CEASED

the master of slaves has ceased. One hundred per cent. of the produce goes to the producer. The struggle for bread is done.

How may this control be secured? Through organisation on class-conscious lines in the workshop and office and factory; and in the political party (in the common usage of that term) that is out specifically to wrest political power from the representatives of the capitalist class in the legislature, in order that control of the machinery of production may be secured by the working class without danger of being blown to the Baptists' devil by the armed forces, which are, of course, under the direction of the dominant power in Parliament.

The Socialist economic organisation has yet to be evolved. But the political party that answers all requirements, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, is here. The Socialist Party is the political party that the stupidity of Mr. Elvin places outside the union in company with the Liberal and Tory Parties, yet it is none the less the party the clerical workers must join sooner or later. Therefore it behoves them to treat as cavalierly as they think fit their secretarial exhortation, and discuss political action—party politics—to the top of their bent, particularly the politics of the Socialist Party.

If they require further information or literature a line to the office of the Party will bring it. Or if Mr. Elvin would like to defend his position or attack ours, we will give him all the rope he wants. And if the worst happens, his blood be on his own head!

ALFRED.

WORLD CRISES.

By VICTOR MAGE.

THE *Revue de Paris* has recently given to the world some hitherto unpublished pages by Waldeck-Rousseau. There (he is speaking of the revolutionary programme) you may read the following words:—

Changing the face of the world in eight days by getting rid of the troublesome shackles of legality, and suddenly throwing every institution, all that now is into the melting-pot of violent reform. Yet it took three centuries for a prodigious being to found Christian society, and from that fact the inference has been drawn that he was really God.

As to the point that it needed three centuries for the doctrines of Christianity to transform society, I think we can contest that. The institutions of the Roman State were rotten to the core; they made no real resistance in spite of all their outward show. Of their own weight they fell into decay.

We Marxists of to-day are awaiting the Revolution as a measure indispensable for the substitution of a new order of things for that present in existence. Nevertheless, as determinists, we are convinced believers in *Evolution*. Whereas the liberal school of thought sees everything as a fixed, stable, and immovable system, our whole scheme rests on the idea of continued and infinite change. Whilst liberals look upon human society as something fixed and eternally frozen, as it were, and in consequence dead, we look on it as it really is, a changing, living thing, like a plant or an animal, which from the moment of birth to death is in process of being unceasingly changed.

But this idea of *Evolution* is by no means incompatible with that of *Revolution*. On the contrary, *Evolution* is sometimes accomplished through crises, and by sharp and violent transition from one stage to another. When the chicken comes out of the egg it is not with heavy blows of its beak that it breaks its shell? Before the birth of this animal there has been a very slow and gradual evolution from a germ. To the ignorant onlooker this "changing" is invisible and even incomprehensible. Then one fine day, when *evolution* is in a sufficiently advanced stage, a shock takes place: the shell, which to all appearance was quite hard, is broken. *There has been a revolution.*

Just so in this society of ours the change has gone on very slowly. Business enterprises pass into fewer hands, production becomes collective. The only thing remaining is to break the shell which stands between us and full flight. But one needs very little foresight to see that, in view of certain symptoms, the "shock" is not a great way off. These symptoms are crises, harrowing and overwhelming in their frequency. In America a money crisis, making itself felt more than any other because of its recoil on all the various branches of production. In England, Germany, France, all the world over, crises of over-production and "unemployment" resulting from the progress of machine-power and the under-consumption which the lack of resources on the part of the great mass of consumers brings in its train. These latter comprise the working class, wage earners who have not the means wherewith to buy back the products of their own toil!

Moral crises follow in the wake of economic crises. Was it not a leading theatrical newspaper, circulating amongst the middle-class, which recently proved to its own satisfaction that the bourgeois public, which alone has the means of attending performances, is incapable of appreciating and understanding things of beauty?

Crises even in love, as a great daily paper proves, the industrial system making woman a foe to every family tie.

These crises are getting bigger, awaiting the rapidly approaching day when they will allow the capitalist regime to topple over and be buried under its own ruins; as it is destined to perish owing to the very circumstances to which it has itself given birth.

[Translated for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD from *Le Socialisme* by "FRIETZ."]

* Fr. "chomage," literally, "standing still." The nearest equivalent is the ironical term "play" of our own miners, etc., in the North.—Tr.

Capitalist Unity and Socialist Solidarity.

At the present time, when various capitalist Governments vie with each other in promoting "International Peace" and "Ententes Cordiales", a pronouncement on Internationalism from the Socialist seems to be necessary, more so because the organisations and organs in this country professing to be Socialist, join with the bourgeois parties and Press to extol the virtues of King Edward the Seventh and his endeavour to promote the peace of the civilised world. It has been frequently pointed out in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD that the leaders of the S.D.P. and I.L.P., whether of middle-class or working-class origin, are steeped to their eye-brows in bourgeois ideas and conceptions by reason of their reform attitude with regard to the solution of the social problem. In addition to the sickening propaganda of "bourgeois peace" in *Justice*, *The Labour Leader*, and *The Clarion*, and from the platforms of the S.D.P., I.L.P., and Clarion Fellowship, we are from time to time treated to nauseous professions of "loyalty to the Crown" by some make-believe Socialists in Parliament, professions which go to show how far the mass of the workers in this country are still from the realisation of their class position in society. During the recent Parliamentary debate on the King's visit to the Tzar, Mr. O'Grady lauded the English monarch to the skies, and Mr. Keir Hardie stated that one of the reasons why he did not wish King Edward to meet the Tzar officially was his (Keir Hardie's) concern for the reputation of the ruler of England.

The fact cannot be sufficiently emphasised that as Socialists, and necessarily revolutionists, we have formed a conception and take up an attitude with regard to international relations that stand in contrast as clearly and definitely to the position of all other political parties, whether avowed capitalist or alleged labour, as our Declaration of Principles and political action stand to their palliative programmes and reform politics. While, therefore, the reform organisations put their faith in the capitalist endeavours of "promoting peace and good-will among the nations," we, ever true to the principles of the class struggle, consider it our duty to point out to the workers that the reason for a desire for political departure from nationalism on the part of the capitalist class can only be sought in economic necessity. There can be little doubt that the tremendous inroad made by the countries of the world on the markets of the old world, together with the need for more united repression of the workers, are making the closer unity of the capitalist Governments increasingly necessary, if not inevitable. The capitalist unity evidently becomes a more pressing necessity to the extent that the growth of class-consciousness among the proletariat of the world is accelerated by the increasing economic encroachment upon their pitiable existence.

What was the reason for the nationalism of the capitalist class in the past? Between the nationally organised bourgeois communities of the various countries there exists an antagonism of interests, which often gives rise to armed conflicts. The nation is the tie embracing the common interest of the possessing class. Hence the native country is the only part of the globe for which the bourgeoisie cherishes any devotion. But the proletariat of all countries have identical interests. In every country they have only one enemy, viz., the bourgeoisie. The Socialist Commonwealth for which the proletariat strive will recognise geographical differentiation, but not national antagonism; the Socialist system of society will establish economic and social peace and fraternity among the peoples of the world. It must be clear that the antagonism between the national sentiment of the capitalist class and the international principles of the proletariat are based upon the economic conditions, the material interests, of the two classes.

But the economic development in all capitalist countries has made mighty strides. The evolution of capitalism in our time has deprived its hitherto cherished forms of their usefulness. The new economic conditions are gradually outstripping the political power of the isolated States of the old world, and the bourgeois interests are rapidly outgrowing their national limitations, and completely uprooting orthodox

ideas and notions. In the Western hemisphere a gigantic capitalist State has sprung into existence, which has the advantage of being a whole continent, forming a colossal economic unit, while the Eastern hemisphere is split up into a number of smaller countries. The superior economic development of America, with its immense natural resources and productive powers, is becoming ever more menacing to the interests of the industrial and commercial capitalists of the European continent. And in Asia vast empires are rapidly developing into full-blown civilisation. Japan has already reached an economic and political development approaching in many respects that of European countries. As a competitor in the world's markets Japan is quickly becoming one of the most formidable pitted against the interests of European capitalists. And China, with a population almost as large as that of the whole of Europe, also shows signs of a far-reaching capitalist development. So tremendous, in fact, are the immediate prospects for the enterprising capitalists of all nations in China, that the very moment capitalist industry and commerce on a large scale becomes possible, bloodshed on land and sea between the great powers of the world will be almost inevitable, because the nations that conquer with the sword will also reap the advantage of participating in the first fruits of China's full-blown capitalism. Compared with these stupendous interests the quarrels of the European countries, which had their origin at a time when Western Europe was practically the whole economic and political world, vanish into air. The expansion of capitalism over the entire globe necessitates a much wider unity of interests than the old nations are able to muster—it demands the unity of continents. And it is the development of these new economic conditions which prompt the far-seeing politicians, diplomatists and economists of the bourgeoisie to foster closer international relations. When faced by such significant material considerations the bourgeois patriots deplore and condemn the national prejudices, short-sightedness, and jealousy that hinder the international unity of capitalists; above all, they denounce the stupidity of tariff and of a hostile foreign policy as some of the causes which prevent the desired international understanding among capitalists. But in spite of the wider economic development the bourgeoisie clings to its nationalism with the greatest tenacity. A contemplation of the rapid strides made by America and Japan may cause the capitalists of the European continent to recognise the necessity for abandoning the old antagonism between the European nations, and of a united effort to resist the encroachments upon them by the nations of other continents; but on the other hand, they know only too well that all the capitalist nations of the world have one common enemy, viz., the international proletariat, whose supremacy they are aware would spell the entire abolition of capitalist society. It is true that in the struggle between capital and labour capitalist mutuality plays a most important part, but in the fight against Socialism by the capitalists in each country the weapon of national patriotism remains still the most effective means of rallying the unenlightened masses to the defence of the private-property constitution. Bourgeois internationalism of a permanent character, though it even may promise the furtherance of the economic interests of nations, can never be realised in face of that "hideous monster," Socialism, which threatens to swallow the bourgeois States irrespective of their size or vitality.

The whole question for the capitalist class resolves itself, therefore, into the plain issue, either to fight out between themselves the struggle for the larger portions of surplus-value and to neglect in the heat of that combat the repression of the working class, or to let the tussle in their own camp be a minor consideration and to concentrate all their efforts upon the relentless warfare against the proletariat, whose increasing sufferings, caused by the ever-growing power of capital, are forcing upon them the class-consciousness needed to realise their emancipation from wage-slavery.

And do we not daily observe how all sections of the capitalist class in this country, as in every other, sink their petty differences when it means to keep down the workers and to prevent them uniting on a revolutionary basis? The capitalists of each country would like to be international-

alists, but that would mean the complete destruction of their nationalism, which, as already pointed out, is at present their safeguard against Socialism. The fact is that the bourgeoisie can only be international when the economic human relations make such a condition possible. Only when the international proletariat will seize political power and will abolish class antagonisms and exploitation will a sound and lasting internationalism become an accomplished fact.

H. J. N.

The Pease that Passeth Understanding.

I HAVE before me as I write a most interesting document. It is from Mr. E. R. Pease, the secretary of the Fabian Society, who writes under date of May 23rd, 1908, thus—

"It would take too long to describe the difference between the S.P.G.B. and the I.L.P. in full. Briefly the I.L.P. is the most important political body of Socialists in England, and it largely controls the policy of the Labour Party. It is the form of Socialism which is going to win in England. The Fabian and the I.L.P. are different sides of the same movement, and work together cordially. The S.P.G.B. is, so far as I know, and I do not profess to speak with much information, a tiny body of half educated young men who think that the State can be reformed by the use of violent language and who are convinced that everybody who does not belong to their little sect is a traitor, a fool or a criminal. I understand that their main occupation is disturbing the meetings of other Socialists."

So now you know what the genial Pease thinks about us. He doesn't speak with much information of course, he is only half educated on the matter as it were, but we are only a half educated lot whose main occupation is disturbing the meetings of other Socialists. The justice of this Pease is a sweet thing. Let us treasure it. Let me go even further and attempt to emulate it. "I do not profess to speak with much information," but I understand that Mr. Pease is regularly carried home drunk and knocks his wife about summat shameful. He doesn't wash his neck and it is rumoured that Bernard Shaw has to keep his hand in his money pocket every time he visits the Fabian office for fear the hand of the secretary might stray into it! Let me add that I am prepared to lay six to four (I do not speak with much information but I understand that is a term well understood in the Fabian Society) that I have nearly as much evidence for my statement as Mr. Pease has for his.

But I'm comforted a little by the information that, although only half educated, we are Socialists. Obviously, we cannot disturb other Socialists if we are not. True, I had no idea before that a Socialist as such could be half educated, and even now I am not convinced. I prefer to think that this is another matter upon which my dear friend Pease speaks without information. Indeed, I am sure of it. It is the only possible explanation of his description of the I.L.P. as a body of Socialists. How can they be Socialists if they are another side of the same movement that embraces the Fabian Society? The thing is inconceivable.

Well, but what is this movement to which the I.L.P. and Fabian Society belong if it is not Socialist? 'Tis the voice of the earnest seeker after truth I hear. And he has put me a poser. I hardly know how best to answer. Perhaps, after all, the implied description of Mr. Pease himself is the best answer. It is the movement that is after the control of the Labour Party. And as the I.L.P. is the same sort of thing as the Fabian Society, and as the Fabian Society is the Lord High Exponent of the back-door and subterranean method which it glorifies by the name of the "policy of permeation," it follows that the I.L.P. movement is after the control of the Labour Party without knowing anything about it.

If that is the idea, and I can see no other, and if that constitutes the I.L.P. the most important political body of Socialists (I deny them the right to the use of the term "Socialist," of

course), so much the worse for their movement. They will be found out one of these fine days, and then—well, the Pease that passeth all understanding to-day will have a little more information upon the only method by which Socialism can be won by the workers. Even now the I.L.P. leaders who wish to control the Labour Party, body and bones and money-bags, are rather concerned about the Labour Party seeing the game too soon. Consequently I am given to understand, as Mr. Pease would say, that no more I.L.P. candidates are to be run on Labour Party money until the number of Labour Party candidates more closely approximates to the proportion to which the amount of their contribution to the Party funds entitles them. Interesting developments are hourly expected.

As to the biting irony of the perfect Pease's reference to our size and our youth, I'm afraid it is a case of pot and kettle as far as the first is concerned, and sour grapes in regard to the second. We are not a large body when compared with the Tory or Liberal Parties, but there's more of us than a superman and an amanuensis. Can you say as much, prosperity Pease? And the virility of youth is preferable to the senility of the lean and slipper'd pantaloons period—what? Besides, the test of our membership is knowledge. The test of your membership is subscription. And even then you can't get members. Oh! Pease. Yours must be a rotten organisation!

A. JAMES.

MARX AND MORALS.

THE author of the "Secret of Herbart" has made a notable advance in the direction of a clearer understanding of the real "problems" underlying "Education" since his last work, "The Secret of Herbart," was published. In his latest essay, "Education and the Heredity Spectre," he says:—

No one claims that improved moral instruction will be a panacea for all ills. The time may come when the minds now devoted to the cause of moral instruction may urge the importance of other factors. Or a happier time may come when all factors will have been so adjusted that advocacy of any one of them would be gratuitous. The immediate need is to lay stress on the importance of moral instruction.

The advance herein indicated consists in the growing consciousness of the fact that his own particular pet palliative may, in the face of other "factors" making for righteousness, prove to be extremely inadequate, if not wholly "gratuitous"—a loose agglomeration of learnedly ignorant "ideas" and "ideals" presented as a "system," but lacking in coherence and in healing virtue because not broad-based on the truths of

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, searching the dark places of capitalism with the torch lit by Marx, again urges its claim to be the only agency at work in Britain which is consciously and persistently plying its axe at the root of the social evil which underlies all "problems," whether "educational" or otherwise.

Dr. Hayward himself well says: "Something little short of infanticide prevails at the moment in those homes where the child is the chief bread-winner." His prescription for this and other glaring evils is, in brief, "a wholesome, rich, and stimulating mass of story and poem and history"—for the unfortunate victims of a system which must

INEVITABLY BREED INFANTICIDE!

The absurdity of the suggested cure is surpassed only by the tragic waste of intellectual energy and misdirection of benevolent aspiration which is implied in the following unintelligible jargon of idealism: "Man, capable of becoming, as you will, a wild animal or personified reason (!), needs an art which shall build him up in order that he may receive the form that is right" (Herbart).

What kind of "form" is "right" for this same "personified reason"? A race of Calibans, bred among and gazing upon nothing but a hog-breed, would doubtless regard its race as the "right" form of humanity. The more than hideous Caliban, fell Capitalism, necessarily

hugs its vile offspring. Wage-slavery, proclaiming it to be the "form that is right."

And as to the particular kind of story, poem, and history? Will the State—expression of the power of the master class to oppress and perpetuate a slave class—permit other than such pabulum as will inculcate the "duty" of thanking God for placing the worker in that station in life from which it is becoming increasingly difficult to rise? We ask a direct question of Dr. Hayward. How would he, in his capacity of "Inspector," view the teaching of Shelley's "Men of England," or of the "Red Flag," as part of the "English" syllabus? Will he tell us, in all seriousness, what diminution of prostitution followed the production of the "Bridge of Sighs," how much less total exploitation of child and woman labour followed as the result of "The Song of the Shirt" and "The Cry of the Children"? Any amelioration in the lot of any section of the working class has been dictated by

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS.

Mr. Geo. Cadbury, astute representative of the master class, recognising the increased possibilities of the clean, better-fed, better-clad human machines as a source at once of more cocoa and more profit, only recently said, "Starvation wages pay neither employed nor employer."

"Moral" instruction by "direct" or "indirect" method? Yes. By both, especially by the latter; but inculcated by the hirelings of a master class—wage-slaves themselves, sedulously taught to believe in the sacred "rights" of property—the "morality" filtering down to the "elementary" scholar from Executive Officer to bottom-dog "Assistant" will be

SLAVE MORALITY.

The crowd that will throw up its sweaty night-caps and cheer itself hoarse to greet a king of knaves on Epsom Downs can hardly be expected to appreciate a "Queen of curds and whey," be her charms sung ever so sweetly by immortal bard, can it, Doctor? Allopathic doses of the "Recessional" and "Rule Britannia," or even homeopathic doses of Seeley's "Expansion of England" on Empire Day are of more than doubtful value in curing the evil which the army of social quacks are endeavouring to grapple with.

"WE ARE ALL IN A FOG"

says the worthy Doctor. Too hasty generalisation, based upon an assumption which may be dispelled by a reading of the Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, or, assuming this work to be beneath the notice of a "D. Litt., M.A., B.Sc.," by a perusal of the works of Marx and Engels, who are allowed even by the master class to have been possessed of some small erudition, and one of whom, in issuing an epoch-making work, the crowning triumph of historical research and of the application of the evolutionary theory to sociology—"Das Capital"—omitted to mention the fact that he possessed the highest academic honours a German university could confer. Historical Materialism, whose main proposition is "that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political, intellectual, and moral history of that epoch," leaves revolutionary Socialists in no "fog" on matters educational. Capitalist society, nurtured on the life's blood of the worker, fell Moloch and filthy Satyr, drunk with the blood of children, and leering bestially at the desecration of womanhood, is solely responsible for the infanticide and the prostitute, the crime and the criminal. Real "Moral Instruction" can only consist to-day in stinging the wage-slave into a recognition of his hopeless position while possessed of nothing; but his labour-power to sell, and in pointing out the way to that emancipation which must be his work and his alone, by proclaiming the fact that economic freedom involves intellectual and moral advancement.

As what he sees is, so have his thoughts been,
Whether he first sees light
Where the river in gleaming rings
Sluggishly winds through the plain,
Whether in sound of the swallowing sea—
As is the world on the banks,
So is the mind of man.

A. REGINALD.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST.

SUNDAYS.		9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	H. Newman	P. Dumenil	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson
Barking Broadway	7.30	J. Crump	G. H. Smith	F. C. Watts	H. Newman
Earlsfield, Magdalen Road	11.30	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother	F. E. Dawkins
Clapham Common	3.30	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	G. H. Smith	P. Dumenil
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Reginald	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	T. A. Jackson
Ilford, Roden Street	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	R. H. Kent
Manor Park	7.30	A. Anderson	A. Reginald	A. Anderson	A. Reginald
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	J. Kennett	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother
Peckham Rye	6.30	H. C. Phillips	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	H. C. Phillips
Tooting Broadway	11.30	F. C. Watts	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil	H. J. Newman	J. Crump
Walthamstow, Church Hill	11.30	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	J. Crump	G. H. Smith
West Ham, Beckton Road	11.30	P. Dumenil	G. H. Smith	P. Dumenil	P. Dumenil
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30	A. Anderson	R. H. Kent	A. Anderson	H. Newman
		T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	A. Anderson
		G. H. Smith	F. W. Stearn	A. W. Pearson	F. W. Stearn
		F. E. Dawkins	H. King	F. E. Dawkins	H. King
		R. H. Kent	J. Crump	R. H. Kent	T. W. Allen
		A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Upton Park, 8.30. Watford, Market Place, 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Paddington, Kilburn Lane, 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS. The Fountain, Tolworth, Surbiton, 7.30.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Walter Hearn (New Malden) writes complaining that in our criticism of the replies given to a questioner by Joseph Burgess at Dundee, we did not say "what Comrade Joseph Burgess ought to have replied if he had been an Equal Dividivist instead of a Socialist."—Why complain to us. We don't know what reply an "Equal Dividivist" should make. What is an "Equal Dividivist"? We can only suggest the reply a Socialist should make. Joseph Burgess didn't make the Socialist reply—which is understandable because he is not a Socialist and probably knew nothing about it. John Tamlyn (Burnley).—Thanks. Will use at the earliest opportunity. As you say, *Justice* is very dull. For the rest we entirely agree. Fred H. (Biggleswade).—We shall reach Hitchin some day. Meanwhile "go for" the local confusionists to the best of your power. You may make an effective John the Baptist for the Party. F. W. Sanderson (Brighton).—We probably agree, but as your card is indecipherable we are not sure.

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THE**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

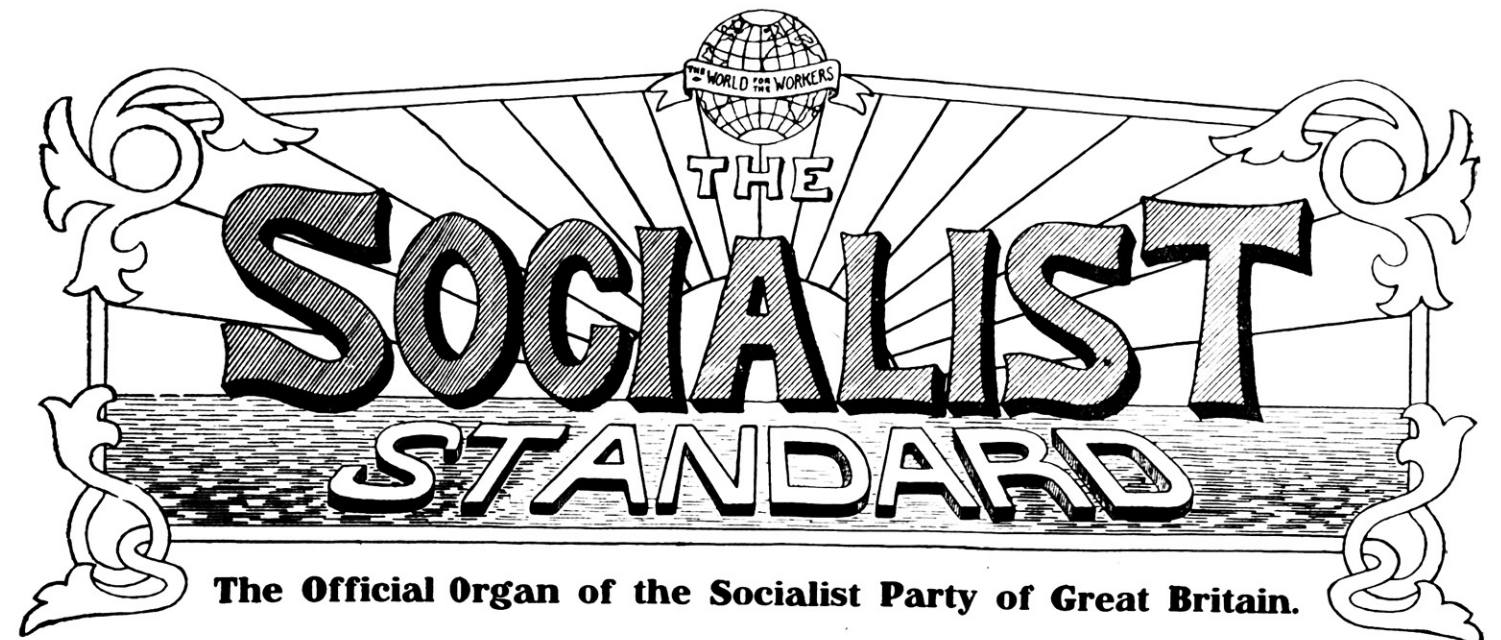
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to Branch Sec.



No. 49. Vol. 5.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

"THE FORCE OF PASSING EVENTS."

REFORM IN THE BAKING TRADE.

In Fear of the Awakening. From time to time there have appeared in *The Socialist Standard* articles descriptive of the horribly inhuman conditions imposed upon bread bakers by our rascally commercial system, and showing how the victims, after floundering about in the Slough of Reform for years, are now turning to the remedy—Socialism. One of these articles has been quoted in full by the official organ of the London master bakers, which now is voicing the fear that unless something is done by way of reform the result will be cataclysmal for the exploiters. In an article headed "White slavery" an appeal is made to the sweater to be a little more merciful than heretofore, and he is reminded of the "laws of reason," "our common humanity," "the principle of live and let live," and such like meaningless twaddle so dear to the heart of the mealy-mouthed and fire-eating reformer alike. Instances known to the Editor are given of men who work 110 hours a week for the "quite inadequate wage of 26s. a week." That is less than threepence an hour for working in the hot, fetid, smoke, sulphur and steam-laden atmosphere of a bakehouse. The *Bakers' Record*, however, recognises that there are two sides to every question, especially now the labourer begins to show his teeth, and it sapiently observes, "Every toiler in a bakehouse, however subordinate his position for the time being may be, always has the prospect before him of being able one day, through the exercise of industry, intelligence, and enterprise, of opening out into life on his own account; these counteracting considerations notwithstanding, there can be no blinking the transparent fact that much cruelty is exercised here and there, which to a degree throws opprobrium on the whole trade." It is, no doubt, a regrettable fact that the Socialist at the street corner has for ever made the further blinking of these disagreeable things impossible. It is also a pity that opprobrium should fall on a whole trade. Disgusting and sickening to see the operative turning his face to the rising sun of Socialism as a way out, instead of indulging in the beatific vision of one day becoming a blood-sucker himself as compensation for the loss of his own red corpuscles, and industriously applying himself, with a wet towel around his pate, to the study of the intricacies of high finance that he may be able to successfully float his future Bonanza bakery (the days of the little drum up a side street being over); but the melancholy fact must be recognised, nevertheless, and the operative side-tracked at all costs. But how? Not with jeremiads and the gospel according to Samuel Smiles, but with reforms. This much the capitalist has learned. But what re-

form? Here the difficulty is met. In the baking trade we have had a surfeit of arbitration and conciliation boards, and see them for the frauds they are, although boomed by shaky-knee'd labour leaders in other industries. That we are not taking any more is obvious to the hack writer referred to. He says: "The past history of the Protection Society (masters) reveals the fact that all such efforts have been in vain, that Arbitration Boards on which masters and men have been represented in equal strength have proved utterly futile, and that the intervention and good services of that useful public body, the London Chamber of Commerce, were utterly useless." *O tempora, O mores!* Alas and alack! the times are indeed out of joint. The working baker scornfully rejecting a proved fraud—Arbitration. He will no longer beg the robber class to rob him a little less, but is audaciously talking of preventing the robbery altogether. Thescribe goes on "the masters selfishly look after what they consider their own individual rights and interests." Of course they do. That is what they are in business for—nothing else. And they buy all their commodities—flour, salt, coal, yeast, and labour-power—at rock bottom prices, and will continue to do so despite the reformers' pathetic appeals to them to consider the broader interests of capitalism as against individual selfishness as a means of putting off the evil day of the workers' emancipation; and despite the fact that that narrow selfishness coupled with the economic development is forcing the pace, as the writer points out in the following terms: "Therein we can clearly see lies the danger of legislative interference, at no distant date, and we are not sure that it would be to the interests of either party when it became necessary by the force of passing events. We do not hesitate to say that it would be distinctly to the disadvantage of the masters." "The force of passing events" is good, very excellent good. It comprises the driving factors which no individual master or joint-stock company can stay or control. The reformer, then, might just as well throw up the sponge and "cease his damnable faces." The diabolical system cannot be permanently patched up. The "force of passing events" renders the methods of production in vogue to-day antiquated to-morrow, and the rules of the game obsolete and inoperative. The capitalist cannot observe them if he would. He that would save his trade alive must adapt himself to the new conditions, must toe the commercial line drawn by the most unscrupulous, by the man who has the predatory instinct and a species of low cunning abnormally developed. The inexorable decree of Capital is:—

"Mid the clash of gentler souls and rougher,
Wrong must thou do or wrong must suffer,"
and the survivor is he who has elected to do wrong. Faced with this position the reformer, who, generally speaking, can skilfully and accurately diagnose the disease, is hard put to it find another quack remedy. "The force of passing events" has rendered all the old, fly-blown fakes into things of shreds and patches which cannot be refurbished any more. The position is desperate. The worker must be side-tracked by some means—but alas! the reformer must either speak truly or fall back on age-worn appeals. He therefore calls for "harmonious action," "a frank and manly understanding between employer and employed," and such like "tosh." But it leads nowhither. "He circling goes who navigates a pond." Its no go. The only understanding that will serve is the understanding of our position in the social organism—that we are mere commodities on the labour market; that the sole function of the capitalist is to make profit, which he can only do by robbing the worker; that there can be no "harmonious action" between the exploiter and the exploited, however ignorant capitalist institutions have succeeded in keeping the workers, and that all "understandings" promoted with that end in view can be summed up in the rhyme of our younger days:—
There was a young lady of Niger,
Who went for a ride on a tiger;
They came back from their ride
With the lady inside,
And a smile on the face of the tiger.
That's the position. There is no getting to the windward of the capitalist while production for profit lasts. Fully aware of this, we are going for no more rides. We are out for the emancipation of the workers by the workers—for emancipation via the social revolution.
W. WATTS.
Revolution is merely a phase in evolution and it is erroneous etymology and mere carping to place them in contradiction to each other. You would call him a fool despite the dangers of hell's fire, who allowed the weeds, cut-worms, the multifarious enemies of agriculture and horticulture to destroy his crops, while he sat by and impotently murmured Laws of Nature—evolution, survival of the fittest. Not any wiser would we be did we act in a similar fashion before the enemies of our existence.
Western Clarion.

THE PILLORY.

THE speakers at the Burnley labour demonstration of August 2nd included Dan Irving and H. M. Hyndman of the S.D.P., and S. Walsh, M.P., of the "Labour" Party. The resolution unanimously passed commenced "This meeting heartily supports the Labour Party in Parliament and urges them to press forward in demanding from the Government such reforms as the provision of work for the unemployed, a general eight hours day, adult suffrage," etc., etc. (the usual list).

The Labour Party in Parliament which these prominent members of the S.D.P. "heartily support," is the same Labour Party that the S.D.P. has been heartily denouncing (when it has suited its purpose) for months. The reforms which Hyndman urged the Labour Party to push forward are the reforms that Hyndman has said are useless. "As long" said Hyndman at this very meeting "as they had wages paid by one class to another, there would be poverty, degradation, and slavery, and the only remedy was Socialism." The wage system will last while capitalism lasts and with all the palliatives pressed for realised, there will still be, given capitalism, poverty, degradation, and slavery.

And we who take action consistent with this knowledge, preaching Socialism only and exposing the fraud of attempted palliation, are the "impossibilists." "How long, O Lord, how long?"

"Being in the House of Commons did not tend toward a man's moral or intellectual improvement." (Pete Curran, Tottenham, 19.7.08). This is sad. Apparently Pete is called upon to choose between moral and intellectual stagnation and £200 a year. Up to now he has not evinced an overpowering determination to relinquish the pieces.

"I question whether I am equal intellectually to what I was years ago." (Curran again. Same speech). Why question?

Challenged by a S.P.G.B. representative in Manchester to take the platform and defend his Party's position, John Lackland, S.D.P., replied "What is the use? Your position is unanswerable." The next move is obviously with John Lackland.

Lord Weardale, Liberal, the one time Philip Stanhope, Liberal candidate for Burnley, in whose favour Mr. Hyndman, S.D.P., withdrew his own candidature, was in the chair at the Barnard Castle Labour and Progressive Association's Annual Demonstration (20.6.08). He was supported by Messrs. Arthur Henderson and Ramsay MacDonald, Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonald dealt with the work of the Labour Party and spoke of the great advance in the honesty of British politics to-day.

Manchester Guardian, 22.6.08.

Honesty in politics according to Ramsay MacDonald, seems to require further definition.

Will Thorne, M.P. (Finsbury Park, 19.7.08), appealed for larger labour representation in the House of Commons, where, at present, not more than 200 members were sincere. The test is, then, sincerity. It doesn't matter so much whether they are capitalists or not, so long as they are sincere. William is usually rich!

It was of the highest importance, not only to the workers, but also to the great commercial classes, that the objects of the Association (The British Association for Labour Legislation) should be forwarded. . . . If a feeling of discontent was allowed to grow in the minds of the workers, if their demands were left unsatisfied to go on steadily increasing, the commercial classes must be exposed to danger.—Arthur

Henderson, M.P., reported Manchester Guardian, 1.6.08.

Such solicitude for the commercial classes from the Chairman of the Labour Party is very touching. It is also significant. The feeling of discontent in the minds of the working class must not be allowed to grow lest injury comes to the commercial classes. Does the position of Arthur Henderson require further elucidation?

The majority of the people were ready to accept any excuse that the upper classes put before them for doing nothing. One of the greatest pieces of humbug that was put before them was the Licensing Bill. What he disliked about it was the utter humbug which Mr. Harcourt, for instance, talked at Rawtenstall. He said that if the money spent on drink were put into industry the condition of the people would be improved. That Mr. Harcourt knew to be a lie.—H. M. HYNDMAN, Burnley, 2.8.08.

The candidature of J. F. Green, S.D.P. Executive, was withdrawn from the Rossendale Valley (Mr. L. Harcourt's constituency) without consultation with the Rossendale branches of the S.D.P. The reply of the S.D.P. Executive to the protests of the local men was that Mr. L. Harcourt was the only member of the Government who had improved his position (from the S.D.P. point of view). He was a good chap and the S.D.P. had plenty of worse men to oppose. Mr. Hyndman appears to be of opinion that in addition to being a good chap, Mr. Harcourt is a good liar and a good humbug. Consistency is a jewel indeed!

The advance guard of Liberalism and Radicalism were moving forward on every road to social progress.—WINSTON CHURCHILL, Dundee, 26.6.08.

Cast your bread upon the waters and it will return to you after many days. That was the Government policy.—WINSTON CHURCHILL (Same speech).

So, really, that advance guard is only moving forward to cast its bread upon the waters in the hope that it will return to them after many days as social reform. The advance guard had much better eat its bread if it has any. It will be more satisfactory in the long run. And it is a long run to the end of those many days. But what an inspiring policy!

At a public farewell to a local publicist, Mr. Rattle of the Social-Democratic Party, said (Reading Standard, 1.8.08) "Mr. Jones (the publicist) was going with his family to a land that was not under the merciless heel of the capitalist (New Zealand). They hoped he would carry into that land the red flag of Socialism, and plant it firmly and deeply, and drive into the minds of the workers there that Socialism was their only hope." The usual S.D.P. confusion. The Socialist movement is the revolt of the workers under the merciless heel of capitalism. No merciless heel, no Socialism, and no red flag necessary. A thinking cap is not a bad fitment for one who would be a working-class representative. Mr. Rattle should secure one as soon as may be.

The Post Office is a working example of Socialism without democracy. It is better than capitalism because neither the Postmaster General or the officials whose mouthpiece he is work for personal gain—but it is not what we want it to be by any means.—F. JOWETT, M.P., Clarion, 24.7.08.

Socialism without democracy! P.O. officials who do not work for gain!! Lord! Lord! why persecutest thou me with baffle-headed labour "leaders." DEVILSHOOF.

Premier McBride tells us that the only difference between Conservatives and Liberals is their attitude towards Labor. He neglected to add, however, that the only difference in their attitude towards Labor is as to which of them shall hold Labor down while Capital goes through him. Western Clarion.

"SOCIAL PEACE" IN FRANCE.

ANOTHER example of the harmony existing in the present social order is provided by the recent disturbances in and around Paris. In spite of statements to the contrary, and wilful blinking of the facts, the Socialists' contention that there exists in society a class struggle—a state of war between capitalists and workers—is borne out daily by our own experience as wage workers, and by passing events recorded (or suppressed) by the newspapers.

In and around Paris on the first of May, 1906, strikes were declared in many industries; the eight hour work-day being the principal demand. These resulted mostly in victory for the masters. However, the workers in the building trades, particularly the labourers, the masons and bricklayers, did not lose heart, but have kept up an unrelenting battle for better conditions by means of other methods than big strike movements. They practised a continual harassing of the contractors, striking in detail without notice, practising "Sabotage" until, indeed, they have gained, piecemeal, some useful concessions.

This "sabotage" is worthy of some attention. Many French workers, finding the carefully prepared strike so often a failure, and the matching of Labour's centimes against Capital's gold louis such a long and painful process, have taken to this form of "passive resistance." For instance, the masons and labourers would strike a certain yard or building and be quickly replaced by a fresh gang of their comrades, who would proceed to "make mistakes" in the measurements of the work, or would develop a tired feeling so that the work would not get finished, and generally "raise Cain," thus proving very expensive strike breakers, get discharged, be replaced by yet another set of "hands," who would "help" the employer in the same way. This would go on until the latter found it would pay him best to concede the men's demands. Of course it is very unkind of the *saboteurs*, but it seems more intelligent than starving on strike for three or six months. The contractors, becoming vexed at these attentions, played a little card of their own, and in April declared a lock-out, which, had it continued would quickly have involved 200,000 men. However, the employers found it more paying to open the yards again after a few days, and until recently things jogged along in much the old style.

Now we gather that a strike has been on for some time in the sand-pit district of Draveil, some eight miles from Paris, and that there have been some encounters between the police and military and the strikers—begun, doubtless, in the usual way, either by a striker punching a strike-breaker or vice versa, or, as is often the case, by some act of police provocation.

The Building Trades Federation now declared a 24 hours general strike as a protest against the repressive measures of the Government, and a large body (five to ten thousand it is reported) of strikers went out to the strike district to demonstrate in favour of their comrades, the sand-pit labourers. The forces of wholesale slaughter were let loose upon the demonstrating workmen, with the result that many were injured upon both sides and several of our fellow workers were killed.

The English papers, as usual, served their masters well by reporting the affair in such manner as to prejudice, as much as possible, British workmen against their French brothers. Divide and rule is the masters' motto, and indeed, in the Press they have a powerful means of keeping the workers fighting one another instead of uniting to fight the common enemy—the masters.

The Government's next step was to arrest eight prominent members of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), this being followed by the declaration of a 24 hours general strike, which, owing to the numerically weak membership of the C.G.T., was rather an exhibition of weakness, although several newspapers could not be brought out and others were published under great difficulties. When later, the electrical workers struck for a short while, the military engineers were quickly at hand to replace them.

Now these stirring events arise directly from the efforts of working men to improve their lot

and the endeavours of the masters to retain their privileges. Further, such events are not confined to Paris or to France, for this country has its Peterloo, Featherstone, and Belfast, America its Colorado and Homestead, and so on throughout the capitalist world.

The game of profits *versus* wages is seen to break out into barricades and sabring and shooting; the class struggle cries aloud for recognition. It is irrepressible because the workers are robbed, and are beginning to know it. Here then is generated the energy essential to the overthrow of King Capital. Here his undesirability is perceived by the worker, and the desire to get rid of him is bred.

As to the French workers, recent events show that they as well as other workers need to get control of the armed forces in order that these may no longer be used against them: the road to this control lies through Parliament. The workers must get behind the guns: to march up to their muzzles—the practical outcome of the "direct action" favoured by so many French workers and trade unionists—is simply suicide.

J. H. H.

Some Indiscretions of Wm. Thorne, M.P.

Our old friend, William Thorne, M.P., writes a very nicely typed letter, on Gasworker Union note, in reply to questions addressed to him by a correspondent relative to certain actions of his own and the position of the "Labour" Party. The letter deserves a wider publicity and it, or most of it, shall have it.

William writes: "I beg to say that I have never actually supported Mr. Percy Alden during the last Parliamentary election, but I remember attending a meeting at which I was chairman, which was held at Tottenham some time prior to the General Election, when Mr. Alden was the adopted Parliamentary candidate, and I spoke a few words in his favour."

That's clear enough, isn't it? When you take the chair for a man and speak in his favour you are not actually supporting him, you're only—well—it's ridiculous to say that's support! Good old Bill. Let's try some more.

"I have known Mr. Alden for many years . . . and I have always found him a very good man in advocating the claims of the workers, both in regard to hours and wages, etc., and he was one of the most active men upon the Central Committee in forcing the hands of the local authority in bringing about better sanitary conditions for the workers."

But Bill wouldn't support him for that. Not actually! Don't support good men, Bill, don't. Only say a few words in his favour.

The letter proceeds: . . . "I am a member of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, and all members of that Party are pledged to abstain from identifying themselves or of promoting the interests of the other great political parties, and I carry that principle out so far as possible. I believe in perfect discipline in regard to organisation and political parties, and in my opinion the Labour Party in the House of Commons would be absolutely useless if it did not preserve its entire independence of the other parties, in the House. I do not believe that any of the members of the Labour Party are prepared to support candidates of the other political parties, but if they do, they are committing a breach of the Labour Party's constitution."

Lovely! Bill believes in perfect discipline—as far as possible. He is fixed and immovable—except now and again. He is stern and unbending—not 'arf he aint—only in places he gives. The Labour Party would be absolutely useless if it did not stick to its constitution and refuse to support candidates of other political parties, and Bill *didn't* support such a candidate. He only gave him a little assistance!

Good old William. I wonder if he read that letter over before he let it go.

A. JAMES.

THE SOCIETY OF TO-MORROW.

THE result of all the more or less ingenious plans of the future society is but to demonstrate the possibility of the Socialist System. All who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the social transformation easily persuade themselves of the excellence of the future society. Even the petit bourgeois—the small capitalist—having the presentiment of his impending ruin, being tormented by the knowledge of his insecurity and filled with a feeling of vagueness, is quite ready to say "Yes, Socialism is an excellent thing, but, alas! it is a Utopia!" And to show you the Utopian character of Socialism he invokes, first, human nature; secondly, the indestructible selfishness of humanity that results in the war of each against all; and thirdly, the opposition of those who possess, which he declares it is impossible to overcome.

How does the Marxian conception comport itself in order to reduce to nothing this triple impossibility?

Human nature! This has been invoked every time there has been any question of advancing a stage in history. The slave-holders called to witness this same human nature in order to clinch the absolute impossibility of the abolition of chattel slavery. In his "Politics," Aristotle, "the giant of antique thought," sought to demonstrate that the Greeks are by their very nature destined to dominate the rest of human kind as masters. Nature is eternal. And every dominant class desires—quite naturally—to eternally prolong the régime which secures its domination and enjoyment: it considers, therefore, its own system as *natural*. Its nature becomes Nature itself. It does not see beyond its own interests, and it confounds the laws of its own conservation with those of the universe. It suppresses history—which only exists by changes—and invents a physical theory of society, which theory seeks to persuade us that inequality between men socially is as eternal and necessary as that between the organs of the body. The laws of Nature are not slighted with impunity, therefore the system of the exploitation of man by man is, according to the exploiters, a law of Nature. Every revolt against it is consequently madness or a material impossibility.

To these interested sophisms the Marxian conception opposes the true history of humanity. It demonstrates the fact of the perpetual changes that occur and have occurred in forms of production and appropriation.

Human society is a particular case in universal evolution. Nothing is eternal and unchangeable. Everything is variable. By showing that the struggle of the classes is at the base of history, Marxism unveils the historical mechanism and shows that every given social form is entirely relative, entirely conditional.

Classes and systems succeed each other and differ from each other. Thus all objections drawn—by the hair—from that much invoked "human nature" are destroyed. Marxism does not recognise man in *abstracto*. It knows only the owner of the slave, the feudal lord, the capitalist, the proletarian, and the other "historic categories." It replaces the vague and confused by that which is concrete and clear, and abandons generalities to the psychologists, philosophers, and metaphysicians.

Better still—by analysing scientifically the capitalist system, the Marxian shows not only that Socialist society is possible, but also that it is *necessary*. Collective organisation of labour is possible because it *exists*. It is present in the factory, in the mines, in the great stores, in the great financial establishments. It circles the world by railway and ploughs the ocean in Dreadnoughts. Individual exploitation is in flagrant contradiction with this collective organisation. From this come crises—catastrophes which demonstrate more and more that the capitalist system is becoming impossible. Soon it will be no longer for us to show the possibility of Socialism. It will be the task of the partisans of the present tottering system to prove the possibility of its continuation by any normal and progressive development.

As to the selfishness of individuals and of classes, not only does Marxism not deny it, but it utilises it to organise the proletarians into a class party, preoccupied above all with its interests, which, happily, are in complete accord

with those of the social organism and of true civilisation.

There remains the third objection—the third pretended impossibility of Socialism—the resistance of those who possess. The Marxian conception is easily victorious. Socialism becomes possible just in the same degree as great capital absorbs smaller capitals, and production on a great scale supersedes small-scale production. Socialists have not to expropriate the *owners*; they will only expropriate the expropriators. They will restore to society the property which has been stolen from society. They do not fight private ownership of objects of immediate consumption. They struggle against capitalist property, against the oligarchy of property—the monopoly of the means of production.

The possibility—may, more, the inevitable historic necessity—of Socialism springs thus from the play of economic forces. The organisation of the working class and the conquest of political power by this class indicate the first stages on the route to be followed.

[Ch. RAPINPORT in *Le Socialisme*. Translated for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.]

'A BANNER WITH A STRANGE DEVICE.'

THE Shoreditch Branch of the Social Democratic Party has a banner of which, no doubt, the members are exceedingly proud. It bears what at first sight would appear "a strange device." But when one recollects the hopeless confusion obtaining in the ranks of the S.D.P., when one remembers its pro-capitalist tactics and propaganda, 'tis not such a very strange device after all. "Reform Delayed is Revolution Begun" it reads, but it must not be regarded as an injunction to the working class to oppose reform with the object of beginning the revolution. That is not the intention of the Social Democratic Party, as is evident by a reference to the list of "immediate reforms" (commencing with the most immediate—the Abolition of the Monarchy!) of which its program is composed. It appears on the S.D.P. banner as a warning note to the exploiters. "Do you wish the revolution delayed?" asks the S.D.P. of these, "because if you do, pass the reforms we advocate in our program. We know," they sometimes add, "these will not affect the position of exploiter and exploited in the least, still, pass them as soon as possible." They will assist the exploiters to maintain their supremacy, and therefore it will be to their interest to pass them.

If any member of the Shoreditch or any other branch of the S.D.P. would like to dispute the conclusions we of the S.P.G.B. draw, the columns of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD are always open. We may, after all, be wrong. We are not popes and claim no infallibility. We are always willing, and indeed anxious, to hear the other side, and to give all our readers an opportunity to hear it also. We know the Social Democratic Party claim that they object to palliatives "if they obscure the issue." Well, what *is* the issue? Briefly, it is that so long as capitalism endures the workers must be poor. Exploitation of the working class by the master class is the essence of capitalism. Exploitation means that the wealth which the working class alone produce is taken from them, and therefore they are poor, degraded, brutalised. The master class will not get off the backs of the working class as the result of appeals by the S.D.P. or anybody else. The workers will be enslaved so long as they remain there, and therefore nothing but the establishment of the Socialist Republic will avail. The advocacy of anything short of this obscures the issue, side-tracks the working class, causes them to devote their energies to reforms instead of to organising for the revolution, and ultimately lands them in the bog of disappointment and despair. If, as members of the S.D.P. sometimes state, they are opposed to the advocacy of reforms if they obscure the issue, they should at once give up the program by which they set such store, and work only for the revolution. That, of course, means leaving the S.D.P. and joining the S.P.G.B.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, SEP. 1, 1908.

Volume V.

With this issue THE SOCIALIST STANDARD enters upon its fifth volume, and each volume represents twelve issues containing more real information of Socialism and the Socialist Movement than any paper of whatever size appearing in this country. For four years THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has appeared with regularity each month, notwithstanding that our death as a party after three months' existence was foretold by the quidnuncs; and notwithstanding the opposition of those who sought to silence us by the operation of the law of libel.

For four years the Party Organ has maintained consistently the attitude of hostility to all the forces seeking the maintenance of capitalism, palliated or otherwise; and for a like period the claims of Socialism as the one subject of real interest to the working class have been maintained against those who, on the one side, while persistently calling themselves Socialists, are busy following the will-o-the-wisp of the "practical" politicians into the bogs of reform, and against those who err on the other side and would sacrifice the Socialist Movement to their own horror of the temptations of political action, by relinquishing the strongest weapon the working class ever can have in its struggle for emancipation—the political weapon—because that weapon, corroded by its long connexion with the oppressing class, corrupts some of those who attempt to grasp it for their own selfish or misguided ends.

For a party such as ours, dependent entirely on the voluntary work of its members, without a single individual financially interested in either the Party or its Organ, the existence and the appearance of our paper is something of which the Party membership may well be proud. Written by workmen in the brief intervals between toil and sleep, its articles are always, we believe, easy of understanding by those who, like the writers, have first-hand experience of the conditions of the problem with which they treat.

While, however, our paper is justifiably a source of pride, it is so, we would remind you, only because it is *our* paper, and being ours, we, the Party, are responsible for it. Let the Party, then, remember its responsibilities. Anything which can provide a point for the further explanation of Socialism, in anything they may be reading, members should make a note of, cut it out if possible, and send it to the Head Office clearly marked.

Our paper is a very important item in the work of the Party, and the energies of every member are needed to ensure its success. Everyone can do something, if it is only selling it, and if the members will remember the claims of their Party Organ, Volume V. will probably show them developments and improvements which will make it of even greater service than it has been in the past.

The first three volumes, bound together, had a good sale and are even yet obtainable from the

Head Office. It may be that the four volumes now completed will be obtainable similarly bound together. If so, they will represent such a collection of Socialist literature as to provide a valuable addition to the bookshelves of the student of this important and interesting subject.

The Eight Hour Day.

The speeding up of the workman, the ever-growing intensity of the labour exacted from him, renders imperative a longer repose so that he may recuperate his working strength and maintain his maximum productivity. Hence flows the modern tendency toward shorter hours so that the profitableness of the worker to the capitalist may increase. It is the necessary and inevitable outcome of modern industrial conditions even from the capitalist point of view, and is by no means a sign of victory over the ruling class.

If the champions of the eight hour day were to confine themselves to stating the truth about their pet reform there would be little need to quarrel with them, but when they claim as one of the virtues of the eight hour day that it will abolish or greatly reduce unemployment, we join issue. It is rankest charlatanism to foist a piece of some necessary capitalistic patchwork upon the slow-minded as the remedy for the workers' greatest ill, yet, unfortunately, it is the characteristic procedure of the labour leader.

In the present instance, if the reduction of working hours is to bring about more employment, it could only be by decreasing the output per man, and providing more work by causing the employment of more men to produce the same amount as before. But would it have any such effect? So far as positive evidence goes it is directly against any presumption of a lessening of the output per man. Even past masters in the art of red-herring trailing give themselves away at times. Thus Sidney Webb and Harold Cox in their book, "The Eight Hour Day," state in considering the result of a general reduction of the hours of labour in all trades that—

The successive reductions of the hours of labour which this century has witnessed have been attended, after a very short interval, by a positive general increase in individual productivity. In many cases it has been found that the workers did more in ten hours than their predecessors in twelve. The effort to get more than a certain amount of work out of a man defeats itself.

The question that matters.

Instance after instance is given of the increase in efficiency and output that follows the reduction of the working day, showing how chimerical is the idea that a slight reduction in hours will put the unemployed in work.

Even as recently as the opening of the Mining Exhibition at Olympia on July 11th evidence was given of the normal result of a shortening of hours. Thus Lord Airedale of Gledhow:—

In regard to the question of an Eight Hour Day, and of the consequent restriction of the hours of labour in mines, and the question of the increased cost that they were threatened with by mine owners, owing to the difficulties arising from the limitation of hours, he ventured to think that from what they saw that day of coal machinery, the mining engineers of that country would rise to the situation, and by the application of technical knowledge, he believed the threatened crisis would really not arise. It was cheering to note by such exhibitions that mechanical invention knew no end, and if it paid to use machinery when increased cost of labour came in, they might be assured that the difficulty would be successfully dealt with.

It should be clear, then, that however necessary to capitalist development the reduction of the hours of labour may be, and however useful it may be in other respects, yet it most certainly is not the panacea for the great and growing evil of unemployment that its champions would have us believe. Besides, the question which overshadows all others in the eyes of the worker conscious of his position is not the paltry juggle with hours of labour, but rather the vital question of *to whom shall the product of these working hours go?*

The workers, indeed, instead of wasting precious time and energy discussing and petitioning as to the particular sauce with which they are to be eaten, should at last awaken to the fact that it is not necessary that they should be eaten at all, and should take their stand with us accordingly.

PARTY PARS.

Every opportunity should be taken to push the sale of the Party Organ, with a view not only to present needs but to enlargement. The paper is worth special attention—see that it gets it.

Rumours of certain alterations in the police regulations affecting street collections have brought the E.C. into communication with Scotland Yard. Will branches report at once to centre any steps taken by the authorities locally?

The Tariff Reformers, debating in haste, are now repenting at leisure. But the discouraging experiences of their champions at Battersea and Paddington hardly justify the action of the Watford Tariff Reformers against our propaganda in that town. There our comrades have had to deal with no argument or intelligent questioning, but with rowdism organised to smash our meetings in the Market Place. This, however, has only had the effect of rousing local opinion against the tactics of hooliganism, and far larger meetings are being now held than might otherwise have been the case. Watford, with the assistance of London comrades, have kept their end up well.

A verbatim report of the debate between Comrade Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawler Wilson, of the Tariff Reform League, which took place some weeks ago at the Battersea Town Hall, will be published in pamphlet form as soon as funds permit. This will be an excellent addition to our propagandist literature. A pamphlet on Religion and Socialism is projected, and only waits upon the production of the harmless, necessary money. The third of the Kautsky pamphlets is nearing completion, and will appear directly it has run its length through these columns.

The *Western Clarion* (Vancouver) has reprinted in their entirety the two articles "Past, Present, and Future" and "The Old Age Pension Snare," by Comrade A. E. Jacob, which appeared in recent numbers of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD. The *Western Clarion* is apparently several miles in front of the London *Clarion* in power of appreciation of a good thing. The Party Organ may fairly claim to be amongst the most quoted journals; notwithstanding this the price will remain the same.

Manchester are still making their presence felt, as is shown by the local Press reports, often running to a full column length. We are assured that we may look for another branch in the district shortly. Good! But why don't these fellows die instead of falsifying the S.D.P. prophecy so?

At the great August "Labour" demonstration in Burnley, John Tamlyn (who spoke for the Party) after refusing the cool request of Dan Irving, S.D.P. chairman of a Demonstration platform, that the S.P.G.B. stand be shifted, went on to show (says the local *Express and Advertiser*) how the S.D.P. went in "for the palliation of Capitalism," and why it was "nothing more than a mere reform organisation." Good literature sales were effected.

In the debate at Bury between Comrade Fitzgerald and McDavis (S.L.P.) the latter was compelled to the significant admission that the S.L.P. was a political party out to capture political power, in order to get control of the fighting forces to protect the Industrial Unionists working in mills and factories. If this is the official attitude of the S.L.P., a lot of literature has been wasted in explaining that it isn't.

Resolutions for the Agenda of the Party meeting upon Municipal Action to be held shortly are due by Sept 28th. Branches please note.

F. McCarthy, in resigning from the Ardwick S.D.P. and applying for membership of our Manchester Branch writes that he has come to the conclusion that the reformist attitude of the S.D.P. is absolutely wrong. The last straw in his case was "the treacherous action of Herbert Burrows."

THE HARRYING OF HAGGERSTON

AND
THE BURIAL OF BURROWS.

Poor Haggerston! It had burrows and warrens enough in its half square mile of mean and congested streets, surely. To have another of each added to the already intolerable burden was too much. That it fired both Warren and Burrows out was therefore hardly surprising. Nor was it more surprising that such a land of unutterable poverty preferred guineas (pardon—Guinness) in the hand to a couple of empty rabbit holes in the bush. Haggerston will none the less find that its Guinness is not current coin in days of want. For the working class ignorance never works out in bliss.

Guinness had a "long pull" over both his competitors from the very start. He knew that the constituency that elected a Randal Cremer must be fairly full of political sinners. The association of publicans and sinners has the authority of the scriptures. The association of bible and beer is equally notorious, if of a somewhat later creation. Moreover, all things work together for good to they who love the lord. And who has more reason to love the lord than Guinness? Is he not the son of the lord?

In addition to this, however, he knew his Haggerston. He has even risked the dangers of living in it. He is a "Haggerston man"—for a day or two a year, anyhow. This is real courage. Men have been raised to the beerge for less. But then Guinness is a capitalist. And the capitalists will do anything for the workers, *anything*—except get off their backs. Mr. Warren, the Liberal, didn't know Haggerston. According to a certain stout enthusiast who orated from the Guinness dais, Mr. Warren arrived in a cab making plaintive enquiries for his constituency; while Mr. Herbert Burrows, the *soi-disant* Socialist candidate, seems to have been in such a condition as not to know which constituency he was contesting! His election literature bore the strange device "Vote for Burrows and no poverty in Hoxton"! Mr. Claude Hay the Conservative member for that division was doubtless mightily impressed by Burrows' solicitude.

The Burrovians very early assimilated their leader's spirit—bumptiousness. They dismissed Warren from their calculations. They then absorbed sufficient of the Burrovian brand of consistency to make themselves ridiculous. Having asserted that Warren did not count, they commenced to bewail the inconsiderate action of the Liberals in running him. After Mr. Burrows so long sacrificed his opposition to Liberalism on the altar of his friendship for Randal Cremer; after he had done his best to "pull together the whole of the progressive forces in the division in the fight against reaction." (Burrows' letter to the *Daily News*, 1.8.08.) Warren and the Liberals who were running him, ought to have been ashamed of themselves, splitting the "progressive" vote in that way. The Warren who didn't count polled several hundred more votes than the Burrows who did.

According to Mr. Burrows and his organisation (the S.D.P.), Liberals and Tories are alike the enemies of the workers, and must be fought. "The principles of other political parties are those upon which the present social order is founded." As a Socialist I hold that those principles are against the interests of the nation, especially the workers." (Burrows election address.) "Away with Lords and Liberals—Burrows fights both." (Election leaflet.)

But as a friend of Randal Cremer, Burrows prefers to let the principles that are opposed to the interests of the working class remain in operation rather than disturb the friendship. "He persistently refused to contest the seat while it was held by the late Sir Randal Cremer." (Manifesto of the Hackney Working Men's Club, issued in support of Burrows.) Burrows doesn't fight both when he is pally with one of them!

"All my political and social work has that end

(the overthrow of the present social order and the parties that maintain it) in view." (Election address.) He probably means his political and social work—when he does any, which is not very often. And even that is not true. Anyhow, it all depends upon whether he happens to be friends with the enemy. If he is, he suspends the work—and working class interests may go hang. This is a typical Burrows-cremer!

"Myself and the Liberal Candidate will have to fight beer, blankets, coals, doles, and possibly creeds." (HERBERT BURROWS, *Daily Chronicle*, 23.7.08.) No wonder the Burrovians were upset about the introduction of the official Liberal. With the Burrows' fight identical with Warren's; with Burrows such a good Liberal, it was surely wrong to oppose him.

"From this condition (of slavery) there is no escape while the whole of the people do not either individually or collectively own the means of production." "Nothing but . . . ownership by the whole people will abolish this form of slavery." "Wage slaves you and your children will ever be, unless you use every shred of your political power to advance your social position as a class." (From Burrows' celebrated "No Poverty in Hoxton" leaflets.)

Nothing matters—that is except Socialism. Apart from Socialism there is no escape. Yet nine-tenths of Burrows' election address consisted of "reforms" that do not matter! Apart from Socialism there is no escape, therefore as a "practical politician and a social reformer" (Election address) I will not go for Socialism, but for "Adult Suffrage," "Second Ballot," "Reform of Registration Laws," etc., etc., none of which will advance the workers' position as a class, and despite the fact that (vide Burrows' election leaflet) the political reforms desired have already been largely secured in other countries "yet at this very moment, there as here, the workers are being half-starved in the midst of plenty."

The great claim of Mr. Burrows' organisation (the S.D.P.) is that it never has made, and never will make, arrangements with capitalist parties to secure electoral or other victories. "Last week you stated that I had spurned all attempts to come to an arrangement with the Liberals. That is an entirely mistaken statement." (Letter of Herbert Burrows to *Daily News*, 1.8.08.) Herbert Burrows "is one of the oldest, best known and most popular members of the S.D.P." (From "A brief sketch of the life of Herbert Burrows," issued to the electors of Haggerston.) A prominent member of the Party that fights capitalist Liberalism all the time assevers that it is an entirely mistaken idea that he had spurned all attempts to come to an arrangement with the Liberals.

Well may the *Labour Leader* wax sarcastic. In its notes of the 7.8.08 it said:—

We confess surprise that Mr. Burrows should hasten to deny that he had spurned "all attempts to come to an arrangement with the Liberals." We have always understood that to engage in negotiations direct or indirect with the view to coming to "an arrangement with the Liberals" in order "to pull together the whole of the really progressive forces in the fight against reaction" is precisely what is meant by compromising with the capitalist enemy.

At any rate, had a letter containing an admission of that kind been sent to a Liberal journal by any member of the Labour Party, we can surmise how scathing would have been the comments of the organ of the Social Democrats.

A shrewd hit and well merited. The *Labour Leader* can afford to gibe. Not even at Leicester was there a more shameless, a more contemptible effort made to get in at any cost of principle. The *Labour Leader* knows that Haggerston has shut the mouth of S.D.P. criticism of I.L.P. "tactics" for ever. Burrows and MacDonald—a pretty pair. What has the honest, earnest,

S.D.P. man got to say about it all, I wonder.

What has he to say, for example, to the attitude of his Party and his Party's champion upon the question of Free Trade? This is an extract from Leaflet No. 2 of the S.D.P. (London Committee) issued as election literature in Haggerston: "Those who cry, 'Free Trade' and those who cry, 'Protection,' are alike after your flesh and blood, and by listening to them you are only being drawn away from the true and only road which leads to your emancipation. That road is Socialism." Against that set this, from Burrows' election address: "I am, as every true Socialist is, a Free Trader." And then say what conclusion the working class can draw. What effect must such flatly contradictory statements have upon the working-class mind?

The London Committee leaflet is correct, curiously enough. The cry of Free Trade diverts the working class from "the true and only road to emancipation." Those who divert the working class from that road are working-class enemies. And all the vainglory, the inflated pretension, the rant and cant and fustian of a Burrows, will hardly prevail against the evidence of his own documents. Burrows is a working-class enemy.

Consider two further points briefly—unemployment and the alien question. Both are referred to in Burrows' election address. "The gravest question the nation has at present to face is undoubtedly that of unemployment," says the address. But the gravest question is dealt with in that document only after a long list of pettifogging political "palliatives" have been touched upon. That by the way. The unemployed problem will not be touched, dare not be touched, in any appreciable degree, by capitalist legislators or administrators. Capitalism absolutely relies upon that "industrial reserve." Yet Burrows talks of setting the unemployed (after thorough classification) to work at "decent and reasonable wages" at agriculture, afforestation, and in the production of the necessities of life, as if that were possible before a Socialist working class captures control of Parliament and local bodies. And then "decent and reasonable wages" will cease to perplex the bureaucratic Burrows and his kidney. The working class will be in power and will conduct their own affairs. There is no cure for unemployment apart from Socialism. Those who, for the purpose of vote-snatching, endeavour to convey the impression that there is, divert the working class from "the true and only road" that leads to emancipation. They are not seeking working-class enlightenment—whatever else they are after.

The same argument and the same conclusion holds in regard to Burrows' references to sweating and its prevention. "Its worst forms, however, can be dealt with by Wages Boards and the Minimum Wage." "Dealt with," yes, as unemployment can be "dealt with," but "sweating is a part of our present social system and can NEVER be entirely abolished till that system is changed." (Election address.) In short, you may patch here, and trim there, so that the appalling, disgusting, degrading effects of this pillar of the Empire's greatness may not be so patent to the eye of delicacy; but the problem will remain, the same grim conditions will environ the lives of the unpaid workers. They will still be robbed, crushed, sweated, because "sweating is a part of our present social system, and can never be abolished until that system is changed." The "entirely" is just dirty, vote-catching dodgery. "Wages Boards and the Minimum Wage" are pille, shewer, unlovely, unwholesome pille, and Burrows either knows it or is a fool.

And "both of these (Wages Boards and Minimum Wage) if properly applied, would go far to

solve the alien question." (Election address.) More dexterity, more low cunning. The Haggerston workers have had it pumped into them that the alien problem is the cause of their unemployment and poverty. Burrows therefore drags in the alien question, not to put the truth of it, but to pose as the man having the solution of it, and to scoop in votes on the strength of that. What is this alien question and why does it require solution? The untutored elector of Haggerston is not informed. He is left with the same prejudices, the same false ideas—he is encouraged in them by the cowardice of Burrows. But what matters that so long as Burrows can appear as his saviour from this evil of the alien and collect his vote?

There is plenty more, equally illuminating, equally nauseating, equally helpful to the cause of working-class enlightenment in which we are informed Burrows has spent his whole life. Poor Haggerston, to have to choose between a Burrows and a Guinness and a Warren. If the voters had been obliged to vote (as they were not) and had gone to the booth blindfold (as they largely did), the result would have been the same as now, even if Burrows' hole received the greatest number of crosses. Between the three of them there was not the equivalent of a tinker's cuss in difference from the point of view of working-class interests.

And Burrows is typical of the organisation he represents. "I would accept the help of Satan himself," he said (*Shoreditch Town Hall meeting*). And he would, even though he knew that Satan's help would only be given for further Satanic purposes, as the capitalist help Burrows endeavoured to secure and did secure in Haggerston ("Liberals and Radicals are throwing themselves into the fight for me."—Letter of Burrows to *Justice*, 1.8.08) was given to further capitalist interests. The S.D.P. knows that the education of the working class depends upon its recognition, and acceptance, of the fact of the class struggle. The S.D.P. knows that the recognition of the class struggle by the working class is hindered, thwarted, often rendered impossible, by compromise, by arrangement with capitalist political parties, by action at complete variance with profession, by confusionist tactics such as were the outstanding feature—the only feature indeed—of the Haggerston election. Yet in face of Haggerston the S.D.P. denies that it is party to any arrangement with capitalism, or is the cause of any working-class confusion!

The case of Haggerston is only another count in the indictment against such organisations as S.D.P., I.L.P., and the rest of the pseudo-Socialist, reformist groups.

The difference between us and them is that we are after the education and organisation of the working class on class-conscious lines; they, on their own confessions, are after office and the plums thereof, and they are not at all particular how they get them. The candidature of Herbert Burrows was not endorsed by a single Socialist—although the list of organisations backing him necessitated a special bill. The S.P.G.B. repudiated him in the public Press and Haggerston placed him at the bottom of the poll. If our action contributed to that result we take full responsibility. Our hands at any rate shall be kept clean.

The resolution passed by the Executive read as follows:—

In response to many enquiries as to the attitude of The Socialist Party in the bye-election pending in Haggerston, the Executive of the Socialist Party of Great Britain desire to make clear that they are in no way responsible for the candidature of the alleged Socialist—Mr. Herbert Burrows. Mr. Burrows, who is not a member of the Socialist Party, is standing as a free trade, social reform candidate, accepting the support of the capitalist party in the shape of sections of the Liberal Party in Haggerston. His candidature could not be endorsed by the Socialist Party, he being in no sense of the word a Socialist, or representative of Socialist principles. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, repudiates him and the organisations responsible for his appearance in the field, and warns the working class of the Haggerston Division against being deceived into voting for Mr. Burrows under the impression that his return to Parliament would in

any way benefit them. Finally, the Socialist Party desires to point out that between the three candidates there is no difference from a working-class standpoint. The working class of Haggerston, therefore, are urged to abstain from voting on this occasion altogether.

Well, isn't it nearly time the serious student of politico-economic problems, the earnest champions of working-class interests, considered themselves and their position? Are they content to let their work go for nothing, for worse than nothing, for ever? Or are they prepared to cut themselves free from the trammels and responsibilities of parties whose work either leaves the working class unaffected entirely, or contributes to its continued enslavement by keeping it in ignorance, strengthening the power of the capitalist class to that effect—are they prepared to cut themselves adrift and come over to the only Party in Great Britain that has an impregnable position in the political field, that acts consistently and logically, and that refuses to be turned from its purpose by any side-wind of reform whatsoever? It is "up to them to decide." "Choose ye this day whom you will serve"—the working class through the S.P.G.B. or the enemies of the working class through "reform" organisations.

JAMES ALEXANDER.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. J. W. (Reading).—You are confusing the two bodies. Our office is in London, not in Glasgow. As we believe that our members understood our position when they signed our Declaration of Principles on joining the Party, and as there has been no change in that position, we do not think it necessary "that each member of the Party shall reaffirm his adherence to the essential principles" of the Party.

W. H. (London, W.) objects that the title of the letter, "The Fall of Hardie," which appeared in the last issue, presupposes that Hardie had a position to fall from. So he had—a position in the estimation of the writer of the article. That estimation may have been higher than the circumstances warranted, but we are not concerned with that. Besides, it is quite conceivable that Hardie could fall lower yet, even in our estimation. But he hasn't nearly so much room to fall as he has to rise. ANXIOUS ENQUIRER (Herts).—Why haven't we dealt with the Garden Party incident? Well—we were so much occupied in watching the Labour members making what Will Thorne would call "blithering idiots" of themselves, and we were so convulsed by the exhibition, that we couldn't keep our hand steady enough to write. But if you want to know our view, it is that Edward (Gorblesim) is just a marionette worked by capitalism for capitalism. He is doubtless a well-constructed figure (Gorblesim) and works nicely and easily, his joints being adequately greased by a special preparation known, we believe, as palm oil. He responds to the manipulator so readily that the audience frequently loses sight of the string. But the string is there all right and the manipulator is the same every time. To talk, therefore, of the King versus the people as the Labour members have, is the result of losing sight of the string. The issue is the capitalist class versus the working class. The present disturbance is due to a Labour member or two being knocked off the free list of a certain al fresco entertainment at which the marionette divertimento referred to, was the star turn. Naturally, the members affected felt aggrieved. Having been professional "dead heads" for so long they objected to their privileges being curtailed. Of course, it's very sad, but if they are not prepared to cheer the performance they can't expect to receive a pass-in check. And that's all there is to it. If they want the pass they must cheer. If they don't want it what are they howling about?

A CORRECTION.

The unfortunate omission of a quotation in the last issue may have given the reader pause. The following extract should have appeared between the third and fourth "pars" of "Comments and Critiques" on page 90:—

"Our organisation is opposed to 'impossibilism' because it is impossibilism, and we are Social Democrats, not impossibilists. The impossibilist position may be summed up as follows: The emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class themselves. In order for the working class to achieve its emancipation it is necessary that the workers should be educated, organised and class-conscious. But no reforms of any advantage to the workers are possible under capitalism; therefore the workers cannot become educated, etc., until they have emancipated themselves; yet they cannot emancipate themselves until they are educated."

Meetings have been arranged in Bedford and district commencing on the 12th inst. and continuing every evening for a week. Comrade F. W. Stearn will be the speaker.

DYNAMITE.

Every day produces fresh proofs that it (unrestricted competition) results in combination, whereby all economic freedom is at an end, and both the small competitor and the consumer are helpless in face of a trust. Under these circumstances Free Traders must revise their arguments.—*Daily News*, 6.8.08.

They certainly must if they wish to keep their end up in the genial game of "coddem."

Mr. W. Johnson, Liberal-Labour M.P. and Secretary of the Warwickshire Miners' Association, who stated in the King's Bench Division recently that, with the exception of his salary and expenses, he had not put a penny of the Association's money in his pocket, received as salary £3 10/- a week, from the Permanent Relief Society, £1 10/- a week, and from the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, £350 a year. Total, £11 15/- per week and expenses. Verily a starvation wage.

Mr. Jenkins, K.C., in the Chancery Division (20.7.08) quoted from the reports of the Labour Party, showing that out of £1,000 received in fees, all but £257 was paid by trade unions. Of the Parliamentary fund of £8,594, all but £189 was paid by trade unions, the A.S.R.S. paying £583. The I.L.P. paid fifteen guineas in fees and £175 in levy, and the Fabian Society paid £10 11/-. Yet they had one-third of the representation on the Labour Party, and controlled the policy.

You may fool some of the trade unionists all the time. You may fool all the trade unionists some of the time. But neither I.L.P. nor Fabian Society, past masters though they be in subterranean methods, can fool all the trade unionists all the time.

Is it not possible to shew that the real interests of employers lie in the fact that if children could be taught for a longer time they would be more useful in their employment?—SIR NORMAN LOCKYER.

There is a vast army of men and women, wretchedly poor, living under abject and squalid conditions, and existing on a pittance eked out by the poor rate and private charity. . . . Factory and sanitary legislation have failed to remedy the condition of these people and a decision of the High Court has deprived them of the benefits of the Truck Acts.
—THE HOME SECRETARY, HOUSE OF COMMONS.

We have now entered, it would seem, upon an era of comparative depression. Free Trade countries no more than Protectionist countries can escape from these periodical slacknesses in the wealth-making power of the world.—H. H. ASQUITH, Cobden Club Dinner, 4.8.08.

Then what's the good of Free Trade?

The boys of the bull-dog breed!

Mr. Haldane informed Mr. Thorne (House of Commons, 13.7.08) that of 34,808 men who offered themselves during the year ending 30.9.07 for enlistment in several important centres, 16,297, or 46 per cent., were rejected as medically unfit. Of these the rejections in Manchester represented 72 per cent. of the applicants in that town, Dundee, 71 per cent., Newcastle, 70 per cent., Birmingham, 58 per cent., and London, 41 per cent.

"An enquiry was then held on the second child, which died on Saturday, 1.8.08, Ada Florence White, aged seven months. Dr. Chas. Stanham said the child was very emaciated, but it was only normal for such a poor neighbourhood as Hackney Wick." Rule Britannia!

In the preface to Blue Book on Criminal Statistics, Mr. W. J. Farrant, Superintendent of the Statistical Branch of the Home Office, says that the decrease of crime in 1906 coincides and may be attributed to some extent to increased prosperity.

SANS CEREMONY.

The effect of the recent decision of Mr. Justice Neville in the case where action was taken against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants by one of its own members, on the ground that contributions by the Society to the funds of the Labour Party were illegal, is that any association of the working class has a right to do what it likes with its own. According to Lord Wolverhampton (*Daily Chronicle*, 21/7/08) "the whole complicated machinery of civilisation is carried on by the working class," "upon whom society depends."

The whole of society depends upon the work of the working class. The working class is entitled to do what it likes with its own—the wealth it produces as a result of its work. Therefore it is established that the working class may legally proceed to expropriate Lord Wolverhampton and the rest of the dependent capitalists who, without legal title, annex anything between two-thirds and four-fifths of the wealth produced by the workers.

As law-abiding and right-respecting citizens, Lord Wolverhampton and his fellow capitalists will, of course, cheerfully resign themselves to the process—I don't think!

Much outcry has recently been raised by "humanitarians" against the method of feeding pythons in the Zoological Gardens with live kids. The Socialist outcry is against the capitalist python feeding upon live children. "Humanitarianism," when distinguished from Socialism, is cant or ignorance.

Mr. Vanderlyn, F.Z.S., claims against the "Humanitarians" that the feeding of the Zoological pythons is a satisfaction of Nature's demands which has for its result "the survival of the fittest." The anti-Socialist "Humanitarians" in the field of human effort make the same claim.

The survival of the fittest is an expression of a natural law operating under all conditions. The conditions prevailing at any given time determine the character of the product of the law. Under conditions of exploitation the biggest robber survives. Under conditions conducive to the production of muddle-headedness, the "Humanitarian," the "Ethicist," and the rest of them survive. Under Socialism the workers survive. Natural law justifies nothing. It explains many things.

Mr. Th. Rothstein, S.D.P. Executive, quotes (*Justice*, 11/7/08) from the organ of Brontierre O'Brien, this passage: "Oh, Baring, Baring! (Baring was the Chancellor of the Exchequer of those days) many a better man than you was hanged at the lamp-post; and our sincere prayer is that no Englishman may ever again suffer for burglary or sheep stealing so long as enormous culprits like you cheat the gallows of its due."

We have a weakness in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD for downright language. Our delight is to call spades, spades, but when we do, we are, according to Mr. Rothstein's fellow members of the S.D.P., merely abusive. Nevertheless, Mr. Rothstein properly applauds the "robust fashion" of Brontierre O'Brien's criticism, and thinks it a "sickly generation" that is too respectable to emulate it. I hope now, that Mr. Rothstein will lead the S.D.P. to see that we are doing them a power of good by shewing them in "robust fashion" the error of their ways. Because they are still miles out of the proper track, and not being a "sickly generation" we shall not be too respectable to tell them a lot more unpleasant truths before we are through. I should be glad to know they are in a mind to appreciate the force of our criticism. Perhaps Mr. Rothstein will drop me a line when the conversion is complete.

ALEGRA.

FISCAL FATUITY.

Mr. CHIOZZA MONEY is a "cute man"; but he nods at least as often as Homer. Just now he is engaged in making "One Hundred Points for Free Trade," or rather, one hundred points against Protection, in the *Daily News*. This is one of them:

The Protectionist theory is that imports, especially imports of manufactures, cause want, unemployment, and pauperism. Well, every year India imports large quantities of manufactured goods, and nearly all of them are imported from the United Kingdom.

Mr. Money might have found—it would have been a difficult job, but he might have found—a happier example. In India the people die literally like flies from "want, unemployment, and pauperism" and their results. The onus is on the Free Trader to explain the absolute unredeemed impotency of Free Trade in "our great dependency."

The Protectionist is of course in no better case. He has to explain why "want, unemployment, and pauperism" are rampant in every industrial country where his pet nostrum is in operation. Protectionist and Free Trader are alike unable to face the facts. They have to resort to all sorts of mean and pitiable dodges to escape facing facts. From a working-class standpoint there isn't the worth of a tinker's anathema between them or their precious systems.

Poverty is the result of certain definitely ascertained causes. Fiscal schemes do not remotely affect those causes. The workers are poor because they have no control of the product of their labour and are, therefore, robbed of the great proportion of it. Free Trade or Protection may, in certain cases and under certain conditions, result in a particular trade or trades receiving a fillip. To that extent there might be more work available. But that would also necessarily mean more robbery. And the workers are poor because they are robbed.

Besides, the fillip must in the nature of capitalist things die down. Supply would overtake and outstrip available demand. There is not a single commodity in general requisition that the present machinery of production could not satisfy the effective demand for several times (often hundreds of times) over. Given the fillip and competitive machinery would be working at breakneck speed to be first in the market with the goods. Result: overproduction, slump, unemployment, starvation and the miseries necessarily attendant thereon.

The process is characteristic of free trade and protected countries indifferently. If the worker is employed he is robbed. That is the unalterable condition of his employment. He must make a profit for his master. If he is not employed he starves. In either case he is no more than a pawn in the competitive game. He is dependent upon the fluctuations of the market—upon the employer who works him at top speed until he has produced too much, and then throws him off until the surplus is exhausted.

The waste, necessarily the accompaniment of this competitive game, is only obviated under capitalism through monopoly. With one source of supply the output may be regulated to the demand. But Free Trader and Protectionist alike shriek (publicly) against monopoly, and howl dismally against waste. They are just mean dodgers or abnormal ignoramuses—they want to eat their cake and have it. The trust (monopoly) is the perfection of production. The trust stage is inevitable. It will produce most economically. It will save labour. It will mean more unemployment. And it is inevitable—Free Trade or Protection notwithstanding.

Mr. Money's note has lured me into an article. I am sorry; but I am a victim of circumstances. I intended no more than a par. But the fiscal

folly of the Free Trade Money and the Zollverein Wilsons always cause me to curse privately and slam publicly. They are so *dam* silly! The whole point is that "want and unemployment and pauperism" are inevitable under capitalism; that although Free Trade or Protection may conceivably give an impetus to a certain trade it cannot absorb the available labour, and even if it could, labour would still be robbed; that there is no explanation of the poverty problem other than that given by the Socialist; that there is no solution other than that offered by the Socialist.

The working class of every capitalist country in the world is in a state of chronic "want, unemployment, and pauperism" because it does not own the wealth it alone produces. It doesn't own the wealth because the land and machinery of production are owned by the capitalist class. It never will own its product until it owns and controls this land and machinery. And it never will own and control the land and machinery until it thoroughly understands its own position and the conditions of change, and has organised its forces for the specific object of effecting that change.

The work of the Socialist Party as against Tariff Reformer, Social Reformer, Fiscal *Laissez Faire*ian, or what not, is, therefore, the education and organisation of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism through the capture of the powers of government in order to secure the product of labour from being annexed by the capitalist class. Virtually the working class is in possession of the machinery of production since the whole process from top to bottom is in working-class hands. The workers now require to assert their possession and secure it, and at the same time the result of their toil, by the control of the fighting arms through political conquest. Simply that.

ALEGRA.

BEFOGGED.

[THE DISTRIBUTION OF LIVELIHOOD. By Rossington Stanton. (Farwell, 6/-).]

A CERTAIN Lord Spiritual, who was much given to the use of the personal pronoun, once took for his text, "The devil goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour," and proceeded to elaborate, thus: "I propose, dear brethren, to treat of my subject under three heads; firstly, who the devil, he was; secondly, where the devil, he was going; and lastly, what the devil, he was roaring about."

I am irresistibly reminded of this story by a perusal of this book which has been sent us for notice. Who the author, he is; where the author, he is going; and what the devil he is writing about are questions I might make long-shot answers at, but whether I should be able to come within miles of the mark, only Mr. Stanton could say. It is an amazing book, just how amazing let anyone who has 6/- to spare discover for himself. The price alone is amazing enough—six shillings for 125 small pages either suggests that the author has a very tall opinion of the value of his work, or that he doesn't expect to sell more than a dozen or two and desires to cover the cost of production out of that limited sale. Probably, however, the purchaser having recovered (if by the intervention of the beneficent fates he ever does) from the torture of trying to get at the idea presumably underlying Mr. Stanton's ponderous and unhappy style, will find that he has secured something of high value for his expenditure in the soporific influences the book generates. Any member of the Party suffering from acute insomnia may have the loan of it on easy terms, and if it does not do all that is claimed for it the money will be refunded—if it hasn't been spent.

In fairness to the author I should mention that in a prefatory note he states that his essay is no more than a preliminary outline of several novel economic principles which it is his intention to elaborate when opportunity allows. He gives them to the world in their present form "in order to secure them from possible oblivion in the event of my unexpected decease."

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPT.

SUNDAYS.		6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	G. H. Smith	P. Dumenil	F. W. Stearn	H. Newman
Barking Broadway	7.30	H. Newman	A. W. Pearson	P. Dumenil	T. W. Allen
Barking Road, Boleyn Tavern	11.30	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins
Earlsfield, Magdalen Road	11.30	F. E. Dawkins	H. King	F. E. Dawkins	H. King
Clapham Common	3.30	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson
Finbury Park	3.30	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	T. A. Jackson	T. A. Jackson
Ilford, Roden Street	6.30	F. C. Watts	A. Reginald	R. H. Kent	J. Fitzgerald
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	J. Kennett
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	H. C. Phillips
Peckham Rye	6.30	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	F. C. Watts	R. H. Kent
Tooting Broadway	11.30	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	T. A. Jackson	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	P. Dumenil
"	7.30	H. J. Newman	F. W. Stearn	T. A. Jackson	J. Crump
"	11.30	A. Anderson	R. H. Kent	A. Anderson	G. H. Smith
Walthamstow, Bell Corner	7.30	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	H. Newman	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson	F. W. Stearn
"	7.30	R. H. Kent	J. Crump	G. H. Smith	A. Anderson
"	7.30	J. Crump	G. H. Smith	A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Upton Park, 8.30. Watford, Market Place, 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Paddington, Kilburn Lane, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

I can only add that if the deace should unhappily prevent the elaboration, I am afraid the publication of the present volume will not secure the novel principles, whatever they are, from oblivion. Mr. Stanton has effectually buried them. That, at any rate, is my serious opinion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of PrinciplesTHE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN**HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

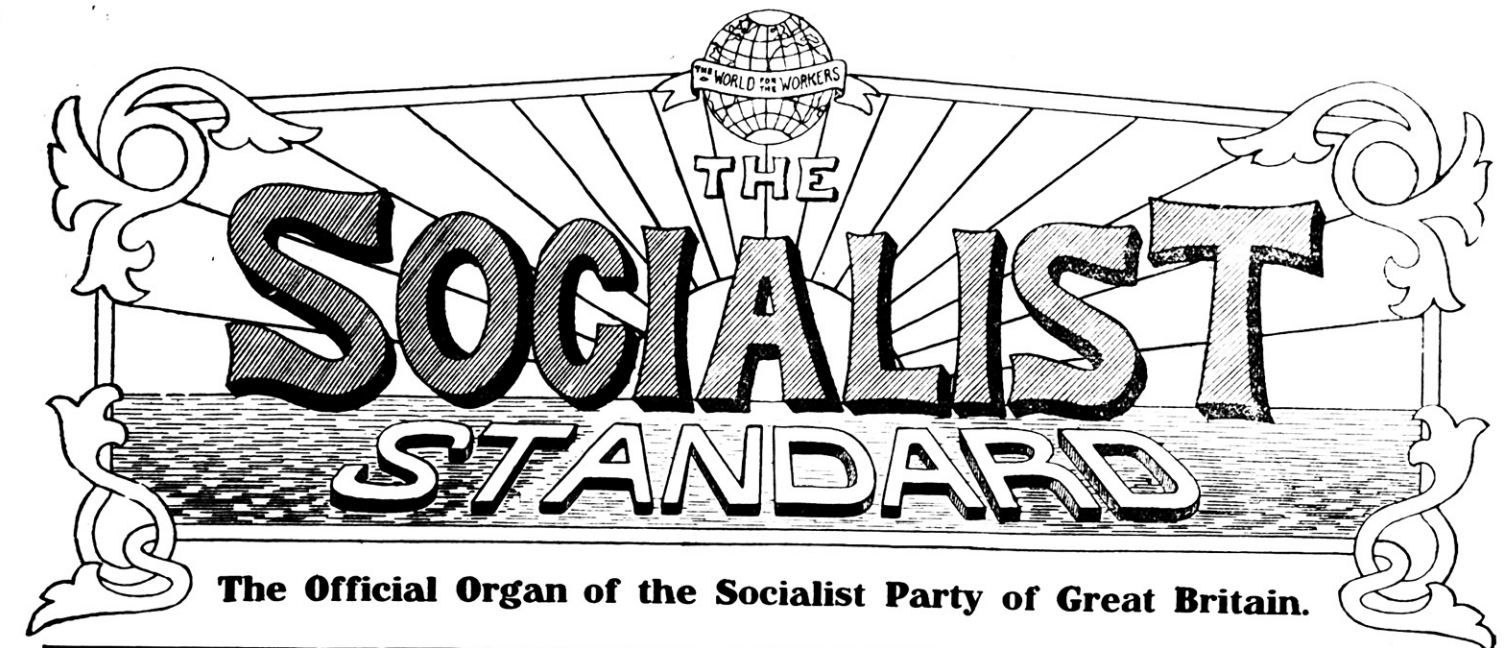
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 50. Vol. 5.]

LONDON, OCTOBER, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The Dividing Line. It has been urged against our position that it is impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between the classes, and, therefore, any theory that starts out with the assumption that society is composed of two classes, must necessarily be wrong in its application to the problems of society. Even if it were true, however, that it is impossible to sharply divide society into two opposing classes, that would not invalidate the theory, as I shall endeavour to show.

The biological world is divided into two kingdoms: the animal kingdom and the vegetable kingdom. That division is true and scientifically sound, notwithstanding the fact that there exist organisms which present difficulty in classification. The mere fact that they possess the characteristics, or some of the characteristics, of one, does not prevent them belonging to the other if they possess its distinguishing feature. The decisive factor biologically, is whether the organism consumes ready-made protoplasm, in which case it is unmistakably animal; or whether it lives by the consumption of those inorganic chemical elements which it changes into protoplasm, in which case it is clearly vegetable. Organisms which, like the hydra, have all the appearance of vegetables, but which, living by the absorption of matter already transformed by the true vegetables, are classed, therefore, as animals. Other creatures, again, seen under the microscope, appear, by their ceaseless movement, to be animals; yet, measured by the acknowledged test, prove to be vegetables. Nevertheless, the existence of "borderland," where the two kingdoms mingle into what is to the outsider hopeless confusion, does not invalidate the division. So in society. The existence of a "middle" class will not invalidate the division the Socialist draws, if a test can be made that will differentiate the constituent elements of that section into one or other of the classes. If, then, we define a capitalist as one living on the labour of others through his control of the means of production (that is, the possession of capital); and a workman as one living by the sale of his labour-power to the possessor of the means of production, we shall be able to decide whether any of the individuals in the "borderland" belong to one class or the other. Actually, however, this clear line of demarcation is not necessary, as for all ordinary purposes the division is plain enough, and the exactness will only be needed by those who have developed what might be called the outlook of the microscopist; for he, intent upon the tiny details of minute organisms, does not so readily take the more general view. So the individual, himself probably belonging to the "middle" class, is more intent

upon the exact classification of doubtful cases than in that broader outlook which would make the division palpable.

And when we have satisfied ourselves that society is composed of two classes, we have to look further into the differences between them. The capitalist lives by the purchase of labour-power, which he employs in the production of certain commodities. The wealth then produced is divided into two parts: wages, and surplus-value. Contained in that surplus-value is the profit on which the capitalist lives. Any increase, therefore, in the quantity of profit means inevitably a like decrease in the quantity remaining for wages, and *vice-versa*. The object of the worker is to get the highest price possible for his labour-power; the object of the capitalist is to realise as much profit as possible. In this fundamental economic relationship lies the main-spring of the class struggle. That struggle is being waged unrelentingly irrespective of whether the combatants are fully conscious of it or not. That struggle is, to the Socialist, the moving force in history. It arises, as we have seen, from the fact that the means of production, which are the means of life, are in the possession of those who do not use them, except as a means for the exploitation of those who do not possess them.

Class Consciousness. "The emancipation of the working class from the domination of the capitalist class" can be effected only by the "conversion into common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people." So reads the "Declaration of Principles." The conversion will not conceivably be made by the capitalist class, because their interest lies in the direction of retaining their privileges, which they may safely be relied upon to uphold to the last ditch. The interest of the workers lies in the direction of stripping privilege from the capitalist class: therefore in a direction opposed to that of the capitalist class. From this antagonism of interests arises the class struggle. The efforts of the workers to gain an improvement in their conditions, whether it be in the direction of higher wages or shorter hours, or in opposition to any of the disabilities imposed by the capitalist system, and the resistance of the masters to any such demand, manifest the struggle between the classes. When the workers' efforts are directed towards the ending, rather than the mending, of capitalist conditions of industry, we see manifested a consciousness by the workers of their position, and the struggle takes on a new phase—a phase altered by the introduction of "class-consciousness." For generations the working-class have battled class-unconsciously for improvements, but despite the heroism occasionally shown,

despite the persistency and the effort that have been devoted to the endeavour times without number, the working-class position has not improved, but has steadily worsened with the development of capitalism, for it cannot be denied that employment is more precarious than

The Conditions of Successful Conflict. it has ever been; unemployment is more prevalent and more lasting than formerly. Money wages may have increased in some cases over those paid at some former period, but measured by the increase in the productivity of labour, the greater frequency of unemployment, the increased expenditure necessitated by living at a distance from the factory, and the increasing cost of house-rent, it may safely be stated that the worker lives no fuller life than formerly, and enjoys life no more. Hours may, too, in some cases have been reduced, but measured again by the intensity of daily labour, and the rail journey between factory and home, the reduction in hours has by no means kept pace with capitalist development. The struggles of our forebears, then, have not solved our problems, however much they may have prevented us from sinking to a lower level, and mitigated the evil effects of capitalism. For the workers to fight on the old lines is impossible. They are no longer opposed to a competing mass of small capitalists, but to a highly organised and powerful class. The endeavours of the workers to meet that class in the old way on the economic field by means of the strike and the boycott meet with defeat, and must do so because, when the capitalist class is not sufficiently powerful to meet it successfully by its power as employers, it is always ready to call in the assistance of the political arm which it has long since controlled. In the political control by the capitalist class lies the centre of its power; yet the fact remains that political power is derived from the votes of the working class. With the working class rests ultimately the character of the government, because the workers control a majority of the votes cast at any General Election. For all these reasons, therefore, the struggle of the workers must take on a political character. This truth has been imperfectly recognised already as is shown by the development of what is called "Independent" Labour Representation. That this movement has been and is being manipulated by a set of job-hunters must not blind us to its real significance, which lies in the fact that a political movement is growing which is becoming independent of the two historic parties under capitalism. Therein lies what may be taken as the first glimmering of class-consciousness. The shortcomings of that movement have been frequently dilated upon in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

DARD, so that it less necessary for me to go into it now. As the constituent elements of that movement, and of the working class generally, become really class-conscious, and therefore Socialist, they will realise that the political independence of labour must rest upon the hostility of labour to all the forces of capitalism, and will either leave the present movement or bring it into line with their convictions by bringing themselves or it into The Socialist Party.

During the remainder of the life of capitalism the work of the Socialists is particularly to develop class-consciousness by explaining the class position of the workers in its relation to capitalism, by prosecuting, without intermission, the class-struggle; while the nearer the Party keeps to the line of the class-struggle the greater will be its efficiency as a Socialist propagandist organisation, and the more effective will it be in generating class-consciousness. Because the Labour Party is in effect merely a wing of the Liberal Party, notwithstanding its protestations of independence, it does not answer the purpose of a working-class party either in encouraging the understanding of the working-class position, or in politically prosecuting the class-struggle. The Socialist Party must at all times, therefore, be opposed to it, and must spare no effort in pointing out to the workers that Socialism must be the goal of their organisation, and the class-struggle the guiding principle in its immediate work.

IN THE DITCH.

COMMON OBJECTIONS TO—THE CLARION!

MR. R. B. SUTHERS is a distinguished member of the *Clarion* staff who gives expression to his avowed desire to propagate Socialism by propagating anything and everything (nearly) that isn't Socialism. His style is as faithful a reproduction of Mr. Blatchford's as he is able to make it, and his speciality is milk and water and the like, which he is fain to see municipalised. In this, he has, although he may not know it, the support of considerable numbers of capitalists, who, being quite aware, as Mr. Suthers is apparently not, that municipalisation and nationalisation of various services will not affect their interests other than beneficially, are probably duly grateful for Mr. Suthers' work.

Recently, Mr. Suthers, out of his plentiful lack of information, has undertaken to make the crooked path straight for those who cannot see. This is chivalrous, but it hasn't prevented both the blind man and his Quixotic but equally blind guide finishing up in the ditch. Unfortunately, Mr. Suthers, being rather badly afflicted, isn't even able to appreciate the fact that he is off the road, and as Mr. Blatchford has all his attentions occupied in keeping touch with the German army which is mobilising somewhere or other in preparation for a descent upon our land (which we haven't got) with the idea of doing us an injury (which we are suffering from already), there is nobody on the *Clarion* to acquaint Mr. Suthers of his unhappy position. This is a charitable presupposition of Mr. Blatchford's ability and readiness to help his henchman out of his hole. As, however, Mr. Blatchford has himself pointed out, rather graciously, that he is miles in front of the rest of us, it is at least doubtful whether he would feel justified in returning, and there are those who allege that even if he did, it is extremely doubtful whether he would be able to assist. The result is that Mr. Suthers goes floundering along with his miserable charge in tow, and is so well satisfied with his efforts that he proposes to publish a full and correct report of them in book form.

At present only one volume has been issued and floundering in article form are still appearing in the paper of "the largest circulation of any," etc., etc. (Mr. Blatchford sees no reason why the *Daily Mail* and all the other papers with largest circulations should have the brag entirely to themselves). When they are all pub-

lished in book form somebody will have to come along with another book to show that it's only a ditch Mr. Suthers has been exploring after all. In other words, Mr. Suthers' answers to objections to Socialism and his replies to those in difficulties, will require another answer by one who is not blind, and can see the difference between the plain high road and the dank and dreary ditch—or would require an answer if Mr. Suthers really and materially mattered.

We would turn one of our young bloods on to that book if his time and the Party money were not required for more important work. So while yet the great work is incomplete, we will just notice one of Mr. Suthers' efforts as it appears in article form, and then drop him unless we want a little light exercise again at some future time. Let us take this one as an example. Generally speaking, the others are full up to sample. Somebody had written to say that the *Clarion* closed its eyes to the class struggle and Mr. R. B. Suthers spreads himself in reply, thus:—

This is comic. The sole reason for the *Clarion's* existence is the awakening of the workers to the causes of their evil condition, viz., the private ownership of land and the means of production. Until they realise that these are the causes of their slavery there can be no "class" struggle. When they do realise the facts, and decide to remove the causes, the "struggle" will be of short duration, and of course it will be conscious.

Mr. Suthers opens well. The first three words are finely introductory to the remainder. Verily, this is comic. The class struggle cannot exist until the workers are conscious of it. (Mr. Suthers "lifted" that without acknowledgement from the comic work of his brother in affliction, Ramsay MacDonald). The man who, upon reaching home, finds that somebody has relieved him of his purse, hasn't really been robbed, can't have been robbed—until he finds out he has been. The robbery did not take place half-an-hour or an hour, or whatever it was, before, but only when the man reached home and found it out. I suppose the man then shut his front door quick in case the pick-pocket should get away!

Mr. Suthers has apparently never read his revered chief's book, entitled, "Not Guilty," or he would know that every human action is the outcome of a conflict, or a struggle of forces, of which the individual is often blissfully unconscious. But perhaps Mr. Suthers does not think much of his chief's collection of the opinions of others in the book referred to. And presumably he would say that the continual outbreaks of the working class against oppression are not expressions of the conflict of working class and capitalist class interests, because the working class do not recognise them as such.

Does Mr. Suthers admit the existence of conflict between the interests of the two classes referred to? If so, does he deny that the conflict cannot exist without struggle? Can he conceive of a conflict without struggle?—but perhaps he can. Mr. Suthers is like the most high with whom anything is possible. His arguments are like the love of the most high—they pass all understanding. That, of course, is largely due to the fact that Mr. Suthers does not understand. He hasn't the knowledge. Which would not be nearly so serious a matter if he did not suffer so badly from the complaint of his chief—swelled head. That is fatal to his future usefulness in the working-class movement. With a little serious study he might be of assistance in the work of awakening the working class. But as he starts with the assumption that he has the knowledge he really lacks, there is not much hope for him unless something very special happens. Perhaps while engaged in blundering blindly in that ditch with his enquirer in tow, he will come a sufficiently forceful cropper to cause the enquirer to discover where he is and to lash out in indignation at the discovery. This may in turn arouse Mr. Suthers to the truth of affairs, and help him to a happier position. Or it may result in him throwing up the working-class movement in disgust at its base ingratitude and retiring to the somnolent quiet of the Fabian Society. In either case the working-class movement stands to benefit.

JAMES ALEXANDER.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

PARTY PARS.

COMRADES everywhere should make a special point of sending in to the Editor any paper, cutting or book extract containing facts and figures of value in propaganda. The capitalist system is continually giving itself away; continually giving indications of the growth of that seed of its own destruction which is inherent in it. We can, by the simple expedient of keeping our eyes open, get every month enough dynamite from the enemy's own magazine to blow him and all his works to the hell out of which they came. This is something that any one can do. Do it!

* * *

Councillor Gorle, S.D.P., has accepted the challenge of the Watford Branch to public discussion. Arrangements are proceeding. Mr. Gorle intervened in the correspondence which the Watford Branch were conducting in the local Press, in reference to the position of the Party and the hooligan tactics of the Tariff Reformers, and promptly found himself in the pillory and very much on the defensive. The pending debate is the result.

* * *

The Islington Branch are holding a "Grand Social and Dance" on the 3rd inst. (Saturday evening), at 7.30 p.m., in the Fairfax Hall, Portland Gardens (close to Harrington Park Station). The North London boys (and girls) have a reputation for quality in entertainments of this description, and Islington may be relied upon to keep their end up adequately. Visitors will find, therefore, full value for the sixpence which they must pay to secure admission. Tickets of Branch Secretary or at the doors.

* * *

Through the columns of the *Burnley Express* a debate between representatives of the Temperance Party and the S.P.G.B., has been conducted upon the question: "Is the position of the Temperance Party economically sound?" This is an effective change from the oral method normally adopted. The representative of the Party had small difficulty in disposing of the Temperance advocate, although the latter may not be disposed to accept that view. However, and here is one of the advantages of this method, the printed word of the debate remains. We are quite satisfied to take the verdict of the worker who is prepared to weigh both sides of the discussion without prejudice.

* * *

Owing to the great pressure on space, several important articles, besides some of the regular features, have had to be omitted from this issue. There would be little difficulty in doubling the size of the paper if sales warranted the increase. *Verb. sap., Q. E. D., etc., etc.*

* * *

Scotland Yard have refused to issue to the Paddington Branch the permit supposed to be necessary to enable collections to be made at public meetings, notwithstanding that the Salvation Army seems to possess such authority and make collections without interference. On the other hand, the Islington Branch has been informed that the permit is no longer necessary. On the third hand, as Mr. Dooley would say, a permit has been applied for and obtained by the Earlsfield Branch since the application of Paddington was made. Either, therefore, Scotland Yard are at sixes and sevens, or, which is more probable, persons of local standing are pulling the leg of the police in Paddington, to the detriment of the Paddington Branch. The E.C. are taking action and will report developments.

* * *

The comrades who spent their holidays in propaganda work in Nottingham, report large and interested audiences and good literature sales. The seed has been sown on good ground, and in due season may be relied on to bring forth much fruit. Already several members have been enrolled.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

INCREASING NUMBER OF LARGE CONCERNS. COMBINES.

Besides the competitive struggle between handicraft and capitalist industry there is the struggle between large and small capitalist concerns. Each day brings a new invention, a new discovery, the application of which enhances considerably the productivity of labour.

Each step in such progress causes a smaller or greater depreciation of existing industrial machinery and plant, necessitating replacement of them and often extension of the particular industrial concern; and anyone lacking the capital necessary for that purpose becomes sooner or later incapable of competing and goes under or is compelled to turn with his capital to some trade in which the smaller concern is still in a position to compete against the larger ones. Thus competition in industry on a large scale causes overcrowding in petty industry, with the result that ultimately, handicraft is ruined even in the few trades in which petty enterprise hitherto was able to meet competition to some extent.

The large industrial undertakings become ever more extensive and enormous. From moderately large concerns, employing hundreds of workers, they develop into gigantic establishments employing thousands of workers (spinning-mills, breweries, sugar factories, iron-works, etc.) The smaller undertakings tend to disappear: industrial development leads from a certain point, not to an increase but to a continual decrease in the number of undertakings on a large scale.

But that is not all. The economic development leads also to the concentration of an ever greater number of undertakings into the hands of a few—either as the property of one capitalist or that of a capitalist association, which economically is only one person (a juridical person).

Several ways lead to that concentration.

One way is the endeavour of the capitalists to exclude competition. In the previous pages we have learnt that competition is the moving force of the present system of production; it is in fact the moving force of the production and exchange of commodities. But although competition is necessary for the entire society of commodity production, each single owner of commodities would like to see his commodities in the market without competition. If he happens to be a possessor of commodities in great demand or of a monopoly, then he is able to raise the prices above the value of his goods; then those requiring his commodities are entirely dependent upon him for a supply of the same. Where several sellers appear in the same market with commodities of a similar kind, they can artificially create a monopoly by amalgamating and practically forming one single seller. Such an amalgamation—a combine, ring, trust, syndicate, etc., is naturally the sooner possible the smaller is the number of the competitors, whose opposing interests have to be reconciled.

In so far as the capitalist mode of production causes the extension of the market and the number of the competitors on the same, it makes the creation of monopolies in commerce and industry more difficult. But in every capitalist branch of industry there arrives, as already men-

tioned, sooner or later the moment, from which its further development leads to the diminution of the number of undertakings in that branch. From that moment the branch of industry develops more and more towards concentration. The time of maturity can be hastened in any given country through safe-guarding its internal market against foreign competition by protective tariffs. The number of competitors for this market is thereby diminished and the amalgamation of home producers takes place, thus enabling them to create a monopoly and to obtain a greater share of the wealth produced in consequence of "protection."

Within the last fifty years the number of combines, by which the production and prices of certain commodities are "regulated," has, as we know, increased, particularly in the countries of protective tariffs—United States, Germany and France. Wherever it comes to combination the various concerns, which are amalgamated, form practically a concern under one management, they being very often in reality brought under one unified management.

It is, indeed, the most important, and from the standpoint of carrying on industries, the most indispensable commodities, namely, coal and iron, whose production, sooner than that of other commodities, falls under the control of combines. Most combines extend their influence far beyond the branches of industry monopolised; they make, in fact, all the conditions of production dependent upon a few monopolists.

Simultaneously with the endeavour to combine the various undertakings in a certain branch of industry into one, the endeavour grows to amalgamate into one also, various undertakings in different branches of industry, because in some of these concerns tools or raw materials are produced which are required for the carrying on of production in one or other of these various undertakings. Many railway companies possess their own coal mines and engineering works; sugar factories endeavour to grow a portion of the beet-roots used by them; potato growers establish their own distilleries—and so on. And there is a third way: that of combining several undertakings into one, the simplest of them all.

We have seen that the capitalist has had to fulfil very important functions under the present system of production. However superfluous these may be under a different organisation of production, yet under the domination of commodity production and private property in the means of living, producing on a large scale is now possible only on capitalist lines. And for that purpose it is necessary, if production is to proceed and the products are to reach the consumers, that the capitalist step in with his capital and apply it advantageously. Although the capitalist does not produce, does not create any value, he plays an important part in the present economic relations.

But the larger a capitalist undertaking grows, the more necessary it becomes for the capitalist to transfer part of his increasing business functions either to the other capitalist undertakings or to his own paid officials whom he employs to carry out some of his duties. It matters nothing from the economic standpoint whether these functions are fulfilled by a wage-worker or a capitalist: they do not become of a value-creating character by the fact that the capitalist has them attended to by someone else, that is to say, that as far as they do not create value, the capitalist has to pay for them from surplus value. We here get to know a new way of drawing upon surplus value tending to the diminution of profit.

[To be continued.]

BLATCHFORD UNDER THE HARROW.

BETWEEN the nether millstones of the Socialist attitude upon the question of invasion, and the Liberal *Manchester Guardian's* answer upon the facts of the present German scare, Robert Blatchford has been rather pitifully pulverised. The Socialist Party derides Mr. Blatchford's passion for lamp-black and lightning, and repudiates his attitude upon war as upon other working-class questions; and the *Manchester Guardian*, with a single splutter of the pen, has killed the only alleged fact upon which Mr. Blatchford built up his war scare articles. His 200,000 Germans practising embarkation are now, as he himself admits, as dead as doornails. It is true Mr. Blatchford admits his error (as to the 200,000). There was, indeed, nothing else for it. But he still holds to the idea that we are in danger of invasion.

From a working-class point of view, of course, it doesn't matter two straws whether we are or not. There is no reason for supposing that a German capitalist is worse than one of the bull-dog breed, and this is the only question that affects the workers in this connection. The casual person would be justified in concluding from the outcry of scare mongers of Mr. Blatchford's mould, that the Germans were a semi-barbarous horde who, having conquered England, would either put the whole 40 millions of us to the sword and have done with us in one great blood orgy, or would enslave and reduce us to a state of wretchedness inconceivable. In point of fact the normal German is at least the equal of the nor-

mal Britain in intelligence, and standard of comfort. If, therefore, the hosts of the Teutonic capitalist overrun us and imposed German conditions and a German standard of comfort, there would be no material change in the case of the working class. As for any attempt to appreciably reduce the standard of living, that is clearly impossible. The working class of this country have plumbed the depths of misery and poverty. They have, as a class, no further to go if they are to maintain anything approximating to working efficiency.

Therefore the intelligent working-class answer to the lay of the *Clarion* minstrel is, that, as they have nothing to lose but their chains, they are supremely indifferent to the possibility of a Prussian descent upon the English capitalist's coast. If Germany wants good old England, they may have it for us. It doesn't belong to the English working class. Why should the English working class worry about preserving it for others? If the others want it, let them fight for it, and if they manage to eat one another in the process, all the better.

The only thing that matters is the development of a consciousness of working-class solidarity, born of appreciation of the common cause of the working-class misery and its common remedy. Socialism is the answer to every question of working-class import, and—Socialism knows no frontier. It matters nothing that England may be peopled as to one half by Germans, or by any other proportion nameable of any or all nationalities on the capitalist globe. That would make no difference to the movement of the working class towards the world-embracing Co-operative Commonwealth. The workers of all nations make common cause against the common or capitalist exploiter.

Therefore, if invasion is coming, let it come;

and if Mr. Blatchford wants to don his old uniform and go out to fight, let him fight. It will be no more than one foolish entry on his own record—and what is one among so many! Upon questions of this sort he is suspect. His reputation is known. He is weighed in the balances. He is of the stuff that the patriot is made—the patriot of the music hall—however he may protest to the contrary. He has worn regimentals and they have got into his blood. For this cause he gives himself over to the imagination of vain things (one of them being that he can speak with authority upon military matters). Wars and rumours of wars are (with the lust of adulation), meat and drink to him. He may quite honestly hold himself to be a man of peace but, it is no more than a delusion he hugs. What reason he has, goes to the four winds at the tap of a drum. "My country right or wrong," is the essence of Jingoism, and that was openly, blatantly, the attitude of Blatchford during the Boer War, however much he may attempt (as he has so often attempted), to disguise it to-day by quotations from other articles of that time, capable of bearing other constructions. He went "off the handle" then, and his unfortunate daughter played, so he told the world, the "national" anthem (or was it "Rule Britannia"?) every evening at his command. He was Sergeant Blatchford of the Dublin Fusiliers then, and he would be Sergeant Blatchford once again. He has very much in common with Kaiser Bill—whom he despises!

Well, the Socialist movement cannot afford to have a Sergeant Blatchford of the Dublin Fusiliers. He would be dear at any price.

But it must be a bitter pill for (if the word is pardonable) so "cocksure" a gentleman as Mr. Blatchford to have to make public confession of error.

A. J. M. G.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



THURSDAY, OCT. 1, 1908.

On the Cause of War.

A few years ago the Sociological Society published some papers by J. S. Stuart-Glennie on "Some General Historical Laws," designed to establish, among other things, that a "periodic law" operated to bring into inevitable conflict the East and the West, the Mongol races and the Aryan races at intervals of half a millennium. The Russo-Japanese War seems to have happened most opportunely for the purposes of the argument, and was hailed by our author as a palpable fulfilment of his prophecy: "Thus as, long years ago, I predicted for this periodic law, there has occurred in this twentieth century another of those great European-Asian conflicts which, at intervals of approximately half a millennium, have marked the age since the upbreak of the truly ancient civilisations in the sixth century B.C."

The order of the events which culminated in this last upheaval are given thus: "The first epoch opened the Greco-Roman half-millennium which culminated in the world conquest of Alexander . . . and of Aristotle. The second, that of Julius and Augustus Caesar and the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. The third, that of Mohammed and the first conquests of Islam, opened the Medieval half-millennium of the Byzantine empire and the barbarous Western anarchy only temporarily abated by Charlemagne. The fourth, the Asiatic conquests of the Turks and the first Crusades opened the Feudal half-millennium. The fifth opened the modern Industrial half-millennium of access to and attack on Further Asia, and the establishment of the Crescent for the Cross in Asiatic Europe." The sixth epoch was punctuated by the Russo-Japanese War and—there you are! The Russo-Japanese War was clearly ordained by the Fates about the time the crust of the earth was solidifying, and couldn't have been otherwise.

The Revelations of General Kuropatkin.

Clearly, therefore, General Kuropatkin's idea that the whole cause of the trouble was merely a dirty financial deal in which the Russian Royal House was engaged, has not taken into account the whole of the case. The Russian Royal Family doubtless wanted the timber wealth of Manchuria and were quite prepared to ride rough-shod over all the undertakings ever made in the name of their country; they were prepared to drench a continent in blood in order to put money into their own pockets, and, on the showing of Kuropatkin, did it. These, however, were mere accidental causes only. Actually, on the hypothesis of "periodic law," the war was, like the salvation of the soul of the hard-shelled Baptist, foreordained before the foundation of the world.

We fear, however, few students of history will be able to subscribe to Mr. Stuart-Glennie's thesis on the evidence adduced. They will be far more ready to accept Kuropatkin's plain statement of the immediate causes of the war, the more particularly as all wars can, with a high degree of certainty, be connected with approximately similar causes. Mr. Stuart-Glennie's "periodic law" could not apply unless the conditions, at the expiration of the half-millennium time limit, were favourable to war between the races concerned. If a forest fire had swept Manchuria free of timber a year or two before the outbreak between Russia and Japan, the "periodic law" would have been punctured, if, as Kuropatkin asserts on indisputable evidence, it was the fact that the timber land was the bone of financial contention. The "law" that depends upon so small and accidental a thing as a bonfire, is not one to base large calculations upon.

Some Cant and a Lesson.

Once again, then, it is established that wars are in general the outcome of conflict of economic interests. And once again we are brought up against the rant or the cant that the moralist newspaper gentlemen, who are pleased to do our thinking for us, and who are concerned to scribble, as far as possible, other causes to wars in order that the truth may be obscured, retail for our consumption. Where, as in the case of the Russo-Japanese War, the "gaff has been blown" so thoroughly by a man in a position to speak with absolute authority as Kuropatkin, it is difficult to disguise the brutal, sordid facts. The only thing possible, therefore, is to speak as though the case were quite exceptional. At this sort of game the *Daily News* is always first class. In its leading article upon the subject it delivers itself thus: "We had known that a Royal Family's greed pumped in a considerable part in this horrible business; we now know that it was the moving cause, and that, but for the greed of the St. Petersburg Court circle the war would never have occurred." And again: "Deliberately to bring about one of the most terrific wars of history in order that a worthless set of royal relations, hanging about a court, may handle a little more gold than they had before, is a development that may suit a commercial age, but adds a new shame to the history of mankind."

"New shame!" There is nothing new in it. It doesn't make a difference in the "shame" because the persons standing to benefit are a royal gang of financiers and not a gang of professional bucket shop keepers, or capitalists in quest of new markets. It's the old "shame," as old as wars are old, and the only "moral" there is to it, is the lesson it offers for working-class learning, that the capitalist class control the State, because they dominate politics, and are prepared to use all the power of their control in their own interests, whether they lie in the direction of using the weaponised arm of the State for the purpose of cracking the heads of native workmen who manifest discontent, or in the direction of carrying on an aggressive policy abroad for the markets of the world and the benefit of their own banking accounts. In either case the remedy lies in the workers capturing political control in their own interest—the interest of the useful section of society.

Hell in the Clouds.

Discussing the further question of the development of aerial navigation and its possible relation to war, the organ of the "Prince of Peace" pursues its dull and melancholy way:—

To drop various explosives down upon large objects like cities would not be difficult, but, after all, there are such things as Hague Conventions against the random destruction of private property.

"Fool and slow of heart, who hath bewitched you?" Verily, the faith of the *Daily News* in Hague Conventions is of the brand that ought to move mountains. But faith never yet moved a mountain and there is no reason to suppose it will be more efficacious in the future than in the past—not even when the object to be moved is a mountain of stupidity or fraud such as the Hague Convention undoubtedly is. The question is, can the Hague Convention prevent the

conflict of national commercial interests? If it can, and when it does, it may stop wars which are, every one, the outcome of capitalist rapacity. But as it doesn't try to stay the war of capitalist commerce, and could not effect it if it did, it follows that the interference of the Hague Conventions will stop wars when wars are impossible! Just then.

But, say the peace-makers, the Hague Convention, we know, cannot stop wars, but it can by agreement, humanise them. It could, for example, rule out airships, or at any rate, prevent their use in the discharge of explosives from above and so on. Yes, it can—as it ruled out expanding bullets, and the inhuman practice of smoking out the enemy who had taken refuge in caves, and all the rest of it. But its ruling would not affect the matter worth tuppence for all that. It did not in South Africa.

The way of Peace.

You can't humanise war. If you could it would not be war. While we have wars we must have inhumanity. And we must have wars until Socialism. Because even assuming the possibility of the present development of capitalism toward monopoly, reaching the universal trust stage, wars between sections of the working class and the dominant power would still continue, and probably be far more bloody than now. Even now we have our Right Honourable John Burnes and others of the "humanity-mongers" calling for the use of the deadliest weapons in industrial struggles.

The immediate object of war is to dispose of the opposing forces. To do that, if they won't cave in, "you must kill 'em, and kill 'em, and kill 'em blooming dead" as somebody said somewhere. And you don't kill 'em with humanity either. You use explosives and steel. The idea is to get as much explosive matter pumped in as possible in order that the opposition may be crumpled up the quicker. And that's where the balloon may come in. If it can be used in that way to suit capitalist purposes it certainly will be; and would be the day after the signing of a Hague Convention by all concerned, prohibiting it.

The only power that can stand between the people and the inhumanity of war is the organised working class of the world. The only hope that the intelligent peace-makers have against the possibility of aerial machines dumping murder upon them from the clouds, is in the working class of the world organising themselves before the navigation of the air has reached the stage of the efficiently practical. Their only hope, that is, is Socialism. As for the peace-makers of the *Daily News* order, they merely howl "peace" when there is no peace—nor can be.

CAN a man be a Socialist and a Christian? "Yes," say the I.L.P., S.D.P., and the other quasi-Socialist parties who are after big memberships. Well, the Socialist says the only cure for poverty is in the intellectual awakening of the working class, preliminary to the ownership and control of the means of life. The Christian says the cure for poverty is in "believing prayer to our God." One is absolutely dependent upon "God." The other is absolutely indifferent to God. How, then, can a man be a Socialist and a Christian?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "Trades Unionist" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago).
 "Club & Institute Journal" (London).
 "The Keel" (Tyneside).
 "Labor" (St. Louis).

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Rufus" (Isleworth), H. A. Barker (Loughton).—Sorry. Replies crowded out. Will appear next issue.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The Trade Union Congress opened at Nottingham with a notable address from the chairman. Let the *Daily News* speak:—

Mr. Shackleton's address was largely occupied with the great social problems of the country at large—the drink question, the education question, the care of old age, and even dangers in foreign policy. On all of these points he took a strong and definitely Liberal position.

And that's all that requires to be said for it. Mr. Shackleton made it quite clear that he had not a glimmer of an idea of the working-class position in relation to any of the questions touched upon. Either that, or he was concerned to obscure his knowledge. Mr. Shackleton, we are constantly informed, is the "strong man" of the Labour movement. He is. His strength lies in the definitely Liberal, and therefore pro-capitalist, and therefore anti-working-class, position he may be relied upon to occupy.

For example: Mr. Shackleton thought the fact that Trade Unions' returns showed 8.2 per cent. of skilled workers unemployed in July of this year as compared with 3.7 last year, was one—calling "for the serious consideration of the Government"! He affirmed that "the great political and social measure of the Session was undoubtedly the Licensing Bill"; that the great question which is on everybody's lips is what will the House of Lords do "when the Bill came before it"; and that "Labour was prepared to fight the Lords on the Drink evil."

But—The outstanding feature of a notable speech was the appeal to the Government to convene in London an international conference on labour. He cited the precedent set by the German Emperor eighteen years ago. Since then the spread of the international character of the labour movement had been the most striking feature in the Trade Union world, and the time had come for another conference.—*Daily News*.

Verily a "strong man." A man head and shoulders above all the hosts of Israel. He would refer the unemployed problem to a government of capitalists who depend upon the maintenance of the unemployed problem. His most important Bill of the Session is the Licensing Bill which doesn't matter a brass farthing to the working class. And the scintillating darling of his genius for statesmanship is an 18 years old proposal of that earnest and far-sighted labour leader, the German Emperor of that day, for an international conference on labour, to "include representatives of the European and United States (capitalist) Governments" who are opposed by the nature of their interests to the interests of the working class!

Evidently the fraternal delegates from America were impressed. "When Mr. Shackleton was in America," said Mr. Creamer, "he described Mr. Gompers as a 'grand old man.' I cannot do better than describe Mr. Shackleton as a 'grand young man.'" Mr. Creamer doubtless meant that Mr. Shackleton was following in Mr. Gompers' footsteps. Those who know Mr. Gompers as the chief labour lieutenant of the capitalist class in America, and know the work of Mr. Shackleton in England, will doubtless agree that Mr. Creamer "could do no better" in the way of accurate description. Mr. Gompers is at present actively engaged in assisting Mr. Bryan, capitalist candidate for the Presidency.

The same Mr. J. J. Creamer in the course of his address said: "In the Southern States the movement against child labour was growing and he hoped ultimately that all children and married women would be excluded from the mills." He continued: "I want to congratulate this Congress . . . particularly on its president" (Mr. Shackleton). It is not recorded that Mr. Shackleton, the champion of child labour in mills, blushed noticeably. This is a real test of greatness!

With such a brilliant lead from such a brilliant leader the Congress settled down to its work, and notwithstanding the difficulties of the position, managed to follow the line marked out for it with wonderful restraint, if not lamb-like docility. There was a full week of dull and stodgey talking, only lightened here and there by the contributions of such advanced thinkers as Mr.

Harvey, M.P. Speaking on the motion that the Congress do all in its power to restrict Sunday labour, in the future, to the narrowest possible limits, this worthy person said: "Working men are not wholly free from blame. They are too much inclined to ask for Sunday excursions. I believe that the strength of our family and national life lies in the keeping of the Divine commandments."

These selfish, luxury-loving working men, spending their substance in riotous living, and rushing about the four corners of the globe on a Sunday, instead of remembering the Sabbath day and keeping it holy! But who is this cheerful Harvey and who let him out of the museum of Medievalities?

Once or twice proceedings threatened to grow stormy, as when somebody wanted a public enquiry into the methods of the Salvation Army's "elevator" work, but as the Salvation Army is the one institution we cannot do without (according to Mr. MacDonald); the organisation upon which the "Labour" Party in the House relies for its information on working-class affairs, "the tumult and the shouting" died down into an agreement to leave the matter in the hands of the Parliamentary Committee.

Against this one organisation that the "Labour" Party cannot do without, shameless and unblinking sweating, undercutting and black-legging, have been alleged and proven to the satisfaction of most men outside the Salvation Army's own ranks. (In the ranks, probably, lying to the glory of God, is pardonable and permissible). The Parliamentary Committee will "deal" with this; but the supply of black-legs through other agencies, to fill the places of Continental workers on strike, is a matter reflecting upon the international credit of an imperial race—and so forth.

With these occasional breaks in the monotony everything went through "swimmingly," and everybody appears to have been satisfied. Sheaves of resolutions were disposed of in a "business-like" way by talking on them for an hour or so and finally referring them to the Government who won't do anything, or to the Parliamentary Committee who can't. This, of course, is of no great consequence, as nine-tenths of the resolutions didn't matter, and those that did the delegates seemed quite incapable of handling.

Such incapacity is quite understandable when it is remembered that the delegates are, unfortunately, representatives of constituencies of ignorance. While that ignorance persists, we shall have the mortification of witnessing our own class annually wasting its money and its strength in Congress meetings, that do nothing quite as well as they demonstrate to the world of capitalism that the day when the profit-monger shall fear for his hoard is not yet.

For ourselves, there is nothing we can do except that which we have consistently done from our inception until now—point out the futility of anything less than Socialism and urge the necessity for working-class organisation in industry as in politics, for the establishment of Socialism. That is the message our men have to carry to they who sit in darkness inside and outside Trade Unions—anywhere in fact where the workers do not congregate. In order to do it we must expose fraud or folly, even though it is expressed through the workers' most revered leaders.

That is a thankless task for which we shall probably continue to reap for some time more kicks than ha'pence. But as there is no other party in the country to do it, and as it must be done, we are not deterred by present contumely or indifference. Sooner or later the policy of the Socialist Party of Great Britain must win. We are in the Party that cannot lose; working for the cause that cannot fail. If the workers or their leaders don't like the truth we cannot help it. Children don't like medicine, but when their case gets parous they have to take it. The truth about the present Trade Union Congress is that it is a ghastly farce, a waste of time and money, and only of advantage to the delegates who, through it, get an annual junket at the workers' expense.

ALGERA.

BOUNTEOUS BOURNVILLE.

Among the many devices adopted for the purpose of befuddling the minds of the working class, a strong favourite is the one of loudly advertising the actions of the "good" members of the capitalist class and emphasising what they "do" for the workers. We are told of their contributions to various charitable institutions, their subscriptions to various funds, and of the thought and care they exercise in looking after those in their employ.

A typical instance of the latter point is Messrs. Cadbury's model village at Bournville. Gallons of good ink and yards of paper have been used in describing the superiority Bournville possesses over the ordinary village or the working-class quarters of our large cities. Let us see how these "advantages" benefit the workers living in this model village.

When one first enters "Cadburytown," the wide streets planted with trees, the semi-detached houses, each pair of different design, with large gardens in the rear and smaller gardens in the front, certainly convey the idea that this is a far healthier and more pleasant place to live in than most villages of the same size. True, the attempt to vary every pair of cottages has resulted in some weird and wonderful specimens of domestic architecture, but we may let that pass. A spacious recreation ground with a fine pavilion and a large allotment ground are also shown with pride to the visitor. He is also carefully informed that inside the large factories everything is clean and bright, and that Mr. Cadbury is himself frequently present to deal with any trouble or complaint that may arise. Inside the factory a gymnasium is fitted up and the younger of the employees partake of exercise, for a fixed period, during working hours. Up to a certain age—18 years I believe—costumes are provided for the girls entering the "gym"; after that age they must provide such costume themselves.

"There!" triumphantly exclaims the hired misleading scribe of the capitalist class, "is this not a fine example of the good use of wealth by a man who could, if he liked, squander it? And would you Socialists dispossess such a man of this power to do good that he so lavishly uses?"

But the Socialist is still unconvinced. He has one or two questions to ask. He has already noticed that every garden is in a certain stage of cultivation. There are differences, of course, but all are cultivated in some degree. Then he learns that prizes are given for the best gardens and, to prevent ignorance of horticulture being advanced as a reason for not competing, two gardeners are employed for the purpose of instructing the tenants in the arts and mysteries of cultivating a small holding. The allotments, too, are ample, and from a cursory inspection it would seem that most of the tenants take up at least one plot.

After working during the day in the factory, the cocoa worker can enjoy the fresh air and the fragrance of Nature by working on his garden or allotment land; or he may take a turn at cricket or football practice on the recreation ground. He is expected to compete for the garden prizes, for what would be the use of providing professional gardeners to instruct him if he does not take advantage of their services? Thus between his cottage garden, the allotment plot, and the recreation ground he finds himself under the *argis* of Cadbury from the moment he awakes till he retires to his well-earned rest.

Those of the working class who have attempted to follow any regular or systematic course of study, know only too well the serious handicap that working as a wage-slave during the day imposes upon them, and how difficult it is to apportion their scanty spare time to the best advantage. At Bournville the worker is completely safeguarded against any such worries by the simple expedient of filling up his time outside the factory with work of a different kind, perhaps, to that inside—under

the eye of Cadbury. It might be inconvenient for Cadbury and the rest of the capitalist class were he to spend his spare time in studying, say, the source of surplus value, or the cause of unemployment. Therefore he must have something else to do—and he has.

Just before leaving, a question perhaps occurs to the visitor that the array of "good" things done by the capitalist had, up till then, driven into the background. "What are the wages paid here?" he asks, and is surprised to find that no one seems to know. By dint of some enquiries he gradually discovers that most of the employees are paid at piece-work rates. But in addition to this they are expected to turn out a certain quantity in a given time; in other words, it is not only piece work, but task work.

The tyro in economics may wonder why the employer should trouble about the quantity the worker turns out seeing that the latter is only paid for what he produces. Like other capitalists, however, Cadburys have long learnt that the establishment expenses are going on all the same, and that the larger the quantity of articles this can be spread over, the relatively cheaper is the production.

And now the iron hand inside the velvet glove is beginning to be discerned. If a worker does not keep up to the standard speed set by the employer, he or she is required to give an explanation. Do they not live in a healthy place with plenty of open-air occupations? Are not the houses fairly roomy and healthy, so different to the crowded town slums? Is not the gymnasium provided in the works, to be used during the employer's time, on purpose to keep the worker physically fit? And the wage-slave at Bournville would be obliged to answer "yes" to all these questions. Then why are you not able to keep up at the pace fit for the highest physical efficiency at present humanly possible? And some plausible excuse must be found, or there is a vacancy soon after.

To do him the barest justice it must be admitted that Cadbury himself admits that it is not philanthropy, but entirely business reasons that lay behind the establishment of Bournville. To obtain the maximum output from the worker he or she must be in the highest state of physical efficiency. This again can only be obtained by supplying the worker with the means of keeping in good health. Hence the detached cottages and large air space at Bournville. Hence also the gymnasium in the factory.

The gardens, allotments, and recreation ground are part of a more general scheme for binding the employees, body and mind, to their employers by keeping them completely under the employers' control every moment of their lives. Despite their "superior" surroundings, the employees at Bournville are more completely enslaved, and certainly as much exploited, as the workers in the ordinary industrial centres. The form under which the exploitation takes place may differ, but the essence remains. Cadbury, no more than any other capitalist, can get wealth out of the air. It can only be produced by the application of human energy to the nature-given materials. Large subscriptions to various lists and the subsidising of a daily paper can only take place when some section of the working class is being robbed of the results of their applied labour-power. Attempts to "sugar" the pill by building "model" villages and fitting up gymnasiums cannot hide the fact of its being a pill, while, as shown above, the "sugar" is more than compensated for by the increased enslavement of the employees. One does not hear of a union among the workers at Bournville, for, of course, there is no need of such a thing where the worker can speak to his employer personally and place his grievance—or demands—before him first hand; while, in his isolation, he is wondering what on earth the man working next to him is going to do. Not by misleading the workers into thinking there are "good" and "bad" capitalists, but by showing them that all capitalists and employers can only exist by robbery will the emancipation of the working class be hastened. Only by using their scanty leisure to learn the lesson of Socialism put forward by the S.P.G.B. will they get rid of the superstition that an alteration in the form or methods of exploitation can alter their position. With that lesson learnt the days of Cadbury, Bournville, and Bunkum will be over.

J. FITZGERALD.

HYNDMAN AS CONFUSIONIST.

He of this sketch was a fine specimen of the men from Erin's Isle. He had the physique of a Fitzsimmons and the latent brain capacity of a Mirabeau. As you looked at the great eyeballs, big forehead, and strong chin, you found yourself speculating as to the big things a man like this will do in a community that lays itself out to grow men, instead of mere labour-commodities for capitalist profit.

"O've listened to Hyndman," he said in his fine Irish brogue, "from that No. 3 platform yonder, and I'm jiggered if I ain't quite flabbergasted. Hyndman, look you, on the platform with that strange mixture. Bless me if 'tisn't enough to confuse a St. Patrick."

"Indeed," I said.

"You see," he proceeded, "according to Hyndman's point of view (if I understand him aright, and I think I do), its no more use to go on talking against drink and gambling and sweating, and low wages and high prices, and pauperism and lunacy, and physical deterioration and starving children, than it is to go on picking maggots off a piece of rotten meat or killing cockroaches in a damp cellar. As soon as you've done for one lot of maggots you've got another, and as soon as you've settled one lot of cockroaches there's another arrived. It's the meat that's wrong. It's the damp cellar that's wrong. And so Hyndman says it's capitalism that's wrong, and so long as you have capitalism you must have drink and gambling and sweating, and lunatics and starving children, and slums and unemployed—and more on 'em every day!"

"Well, I'll leave it to you," I said, "as to how nearly that describes Hyndman's position. But, anyhow, I think it's the truth, don't you?"

"Yes. And Hyndman thinks that too. For instance, he says he spoke in this town twenty-five years ago, and they were then demanding the same little pottering political reforms that they are demanding still, and they are further off from getting them than ever. And the capitalists are taking more of the wealth every year. And the conditions of the workers are going worse every year. And the unemployed are increasing every year. And long spells of bad trade follow short spells of good trade quicker and quicker, so that for sure you may correctly say 'tis bad trade all the time. That's what Hyndman says!"

"Well?"

"So that it means that things for the workers go from bad to worse, and that so long as there's these capitalists on your back, and they sucking like leeches by what they call their capital, there can't be no improvement for the worker—no progress—no reform."

"It looks like it, doesn't it?"

"Sure, it does. Because, as these capitalists get more capital, they must suck Labour more, and there's no preventing them, so long as there's the system. They can laugh at all your reforms. And so long as they've their system they'll have their full pound of flesh. And that's what I've heard Hyndman say."

"Well, what's your difficulty?"

"Just this: If Hyndman believes that before we can have any betterment we must organise ourselves, and go for the overthrow of the system, what does he want to be on the platform with these Labour fellows, who are simply helping the capitalists to mend the system. They don't mean abolishing capitalism; they simply mean making it a little better. They've never examined the system—devil a bit have they. There was one fellow there who talked a lot about temperance, and he seemed to think all you've got to do is to make the people teetotal, as if that's any good so long as there's capitalism. Then he was followed by a woman who seemed possessed with the holy desire to get the half-time kiddies out of the factory, though how that would advantage the kiddies if they had to come home to an empty table, and how the capitalist was to be made to keep the table full, were matters she was not very clear about. Then another suggested that the capitalist might feed the children through the capitalist State. But if the capitalist does anything for us through his State, I reckon he'll

secure his pound of flesh by buying our labour-power cheaper in return. Then there were other pills for earthquakes. One man seemed to think that an eight-hour day would absorb the unemployed. Another was big on municipal and state capitalism, and he seemed to think that if you could only get the capitalist to rob the worker in a collective way, through the municipality and the capitalist state, instead of in the old way, through his private factory, that this was going to advantage the worker. The fool! The post-office here, and the state railways elsewhere, ought to teach him that these things can make no difference to the wage-worker. In fact, so long as the worker is a wage-worker, and the capitalist buys him as he buys anything else, and so long as there's plenty of unemployed making his price his mere living, whether the state buys him or the master buys him it'll be all the same."

"Yes," I replied, "if you get anything in the way of reform for the worker, so long as there's capitalism, you simply make him a cheaper commodity for the capitalist, and the capitalist sucks it back again."

"That's so," said my Irishman, "and Hyndman sees that. And I want to know what he wants on the platform with these reforming Johnnies. If Hyndman believes that the system is wrong, then why doesn't he help you chaps to draw the working class away from all this political reform mongering which, mind you, he himself admits has brought us nothing during the last twenty-five years? Why doesn't he educate and organise the working class, to prepare for the overthrow of capitalism, and leave the capitalists and these reform fools to mend their system—if they can?"

"Looks like a new form of the great game of how not to do it, don't you think so?" I said.

"How? Which way?" he demanded.

"Well, hearing Hyndman keeps them from understanding what the other chaps mean; and then hearing the other chaps keeps them from understanding what Hyndman means, and so at the end it keeps them much where they were. Hyndman's presence and talk makes the great British Public believe that this trade union and Labour gang are a very revolutionary lot, and the presence of the good, solid, practical, level-headed gentlemen on the same platform with Hyndman, makes the same B.P. believe that Hyndman and the S.D.P. are quite judicious politicians, after all."

"Well, but all this is confusing the workers!" roared my friend.

"Or educating them," I suggested.

"Educating, be d—d (his language got very strong). I say it's confusing them!"

"Well, well," I said, "both words mean much the same thing applied to the wage-slaves. The educated of the other class don't lecture the working class to stimulate and enlighten them, but to chloroform and confuse them."

"Be gorra, and it seems so," he said. Then after a short silence, still meditating on the issue, he exclaimed—

"Can a man be both a reformer and a revolutionist?"

"No," I said, "But he can pose as both until the people find him out and force him into one camp or the other."

"And is Hyndman posing as both?"

"Well, there are the facts. What do they say?"

"They say he is. He's preaching revolution, and he's on a reform platform. But what is he at heart? Is he a revolutionist?"

"No, I don't think so. Hyndman's desire has always been to be the big man, with the big following, who could show the capitalists how to run their system in a proper, up-to-date, scientific way, don't you know?"

"It looks like it."

"Well, take the facts. Lately, Hyndman has been pointing out to the British capitalists, their danger of having a war with the German capitalists. Now what revolutionist cares a tinker's anathema about who the British capitalist goes to war with. Certainly, if the German capitalists invaded England tomorrow they might lay rough hands on the property of the English capitalists, but they could take nothing from the English wage-slaves, seeing that the English capitalists have cleaned them out too well already. So that no evil can happen to the workers from any invasion, and no capitalist

war is worth their thought. And yet here is Hyndman writing yards of this stuff in conjunction with that other fool, Blatchford, in working-class papers, and trying to get the workers interested in it. Then again, Hyndman has written a lot in *Justice* lately about "Capitalist Secret Diplomacy." Now why should the worker waste one thought upon "Capitalist Secret Diplomacy"? Surely our business ought to be to cultivate opportunities to oust the capitalist."

"No, it's no use our watching the capitalists, how they play the game to fitch the wealth they first steal from us, from each other; we must organise ourselves to stop the robbery at the root."

"I say, old man, when are you going to join the Socialist Party of Great Britain?"

"O'm watching you," he replied, "but oi must be careful. Life is short, and oi can't afford to waste any more of mine with reformers."

"Well," I said, "if you think there's danger, come in and help to keep us straight."

"That's a thought oi have," he replied, "and, anyhow, 'oi attend your meetings, buy your STANDARD, and drop my penny in the hat."

JOHN TAMLYN.

AT RANDOM.

"MR. BURROWS ought to be in Parliament; he is much the sanest of the Party to which he belongs." (W. T. STREED, *Review of Reviews*, August, 1908.)

After this handsome certificate of comparative "sanity" from one of the most notorious tin gods of Nonconformist-Liberalism, the suave gentleman who plays "Socialism" on a cracked pipe in an impossible key to the tune of "Reform," should experience no trouble in making one of those "compacts" with the master-class which the Social Democratic Party would never endorse.

What, never? Well; hardly ever! See Manifesto of the S.P.G.B., pp. 1, 9, and 10.

The "humanity" of individual members of the governing class often throws a lurid light on the all-essential conception of class-consciousness. We learn from the Correspondent of the *Daily News* that "President Fallières and M. Clémenceau have stubborn objections to capital punishment."

Whether a criminal shall take his last look through the "little window," or be immured in prison, has little, or very remote, bearing on the interests of the gentlemen in question as members of the governing class. Quite otherwise with a strike. The sacred right of the capitalist to exercise his unfettered "freedom" in brutal exploitation is challenged. The genial Fallières and the clement Clémenceau have no hesitation then in shooting.

"Stabborn objections to capital punishment" en masse, in the interests of the employers, have as little existence with Fallières and Clémenceau as with Asquith and Burns.

When will the worker fully grasp the fatal significance of the armed forces of the nation to himself? "Hard times" are in store during the coming winter. Sharp reminders of the real meaning of such forces may serve to help even fatuous fools of the Blatchford type to see that preservation of "our" country is the function of the army and navy only on the clear recognition of the fact that "our" is synonymous with the class that hold and control the instruments of production.

The worker is fatherland-less. Stripped of all claim to any advantages which he may have formerly enjoyed from the use of land, the appeal to save "our" country from foreign conquest by the Editor of the *Clarion*, is on a par with his strenuous begging for funds to finance

"our" Vans—which belong, as you please, and are solely controlled by—spite of feeble *Clarion*-ese kickers—the Editor of the *Clarion*.

As thus: "MY method is soon told. I look out for good men. When I find one, I give thanks. I put him into the right place. I give him a free hand."

"Alderman E. R. Hartley will be appointed Van Organiser." (*Clarion* (recent issue).

Inimitable style, Nunquam's!! My very dear friends of the *Clarion* brand of "Reform," do you read "YOUR" ORGAN?

Listen to the tale of woe! The *Class Teacher* this time. "Pious professional protests, pious professional tears have all been in vain. In some cases we (the teachers' unions) are actually progressing backwards."

"One gets sick unto death of it all: we are singing and making merry while the ship is sinking."

The "dearth" of teachers has come to a most brutal, beastly, unseemly end. The poor pedagogue is actually being brought face to face with "iron laws of supply and demand." But—soft! We will take heed unto ourselves, we will take counsel of the miner, we will learn wisdom from the bricklayer, and the gasworker. We "will reduce the number of possible blacklegs."

Why, damme! if it comes to that, "we will adopt strike principles."

Ay! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the *Counter-Jumpers' Champion*, noise it not abroad in the *Dustmen's Herald*—we will bow our heads, and admit "uncertificated teachers" to the Union what time we declare that "with the 'supplementary' teachers we have no cause in common."

"No cause in common." Fools and blind! Compelled to sell your pitiful commodity, a shoddy education, at a rate which compels you too oft to occupy your "leisure" time in petty trading, in divers pursuits which a false pride and an eye to income tax compels you to hide, you have yet to learn that you have a "cause in common" with YOUR CLASS, the WORKING CLASS.

Meanwhile, the President of your Union is discovering that there is a "great sense of unity" among teachers—in the wonderful German Empire.

A comrade from Manchester, who modestly hides his individuality under the weird title of "Jaybee," writes:

"The futility of endeavouring to put a stop to industrial operations by such a method as the general strike, was shown during the recent strike in Paris; Mr. Clémenceau, the Premier, said he would be able to place at the disposal of the directors, military engineers to take the place of the men in supply stations if they went on strike."

"Further, he was prepared to supply TROOPS TO GUARD THE MANS."

A striking commentary on the soundness of the position taken up by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, viz: that, whilst fully recognising the necessity of organisation on the industrial plane, the seizure of the political machinery (including the armed forces of the nation) by the worker, is absolutely essential to working-class emancipation.

"Direct action," however thickly veiled with high-sounding Socialist phrases, is Anarchy, and he who would persuade the worker to "drive out Beelzebub with Beelzebub" is working present woe, and hindering future weal in a way that is the more tragic, in so far as a genuine desire to serve his class often dominates the misguided devotee to an ancient and obsolete faith.

A. REYNOLDS.

MONEY:

WILL IT BE NEEDED UNDER SOCIALISM?

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—Having participated, as a humble listener, in many discussions on Socialism, I have noticed, as no doubt have many others, what a stumbling block the money question presents to many earnest seekers after truth. Seeing on sale a pamphlet bearing the title quoted at the head of this letter, I purchased a copy in the hope that it would help in surmounting the obstacle in question.

Mr. A. P. Hazell, the author, is not, I understand, a member of your Party, but I feel sure you will grant him space to clear up my doubts and remove my difficulties.

"The ordinary individual is quite confused in his ideas concerning the medium of exchange," says Mr. Hazell, with which I quite agree, as I also do with two other statements, viz., "Capitalism presupposes production of wealth which has to be distributed by means of exchange," and "Socialism does not presuppose distribution of wealth by means of exchange. It assumes that society has evolved a stage beyond exchange, and that, consequently, there will be no need for money." But I understand that Mr. Hazell is a prominent member of, and an accepted economic authority in, the Social Democratic Party, which has for its object "The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange." Its members refer to this object as Socialism. Why then seek to socialise something which is necessary to capitalism but not to Socialism, which will supersede it? I have heard members of the S.D.P. criticise the I.L.P. because the latter would socialise capital, whereas Socialism means its abolition. Is this not a case of pot and kettle?

Mr. Hazell deals with "The Guernsey Experiment" which "Shows that money even now under given conditions can be dispensed with." But the paragraph records that the Governor of Guernsey issued paper money against the cash which was to come in as rent for stalls. As it came in the paper money was withdrawn from circulation. This, in my opinion, proves the opposite to what the author claims.

"If Municipalities," says Mr. Hazell, "could overcome the opposition of the Bankers, and obtain the consent of Parliament, they could easily raise funds and do without the capitalist financiers whose function it is to exact interest on loans." It seems to me that municipalities will not be able to do this until the conscious effort of the Socialist working class has deprived the capitalist financiers of their political power and appointed its delegates to organise the administration of things. If I am right then it is little use and very confusing to argue upon this "if."

But it is on pages 4 and 5 that I encounter my greatest difficulties! Mr. Hazell says: "A socialistically-inclined Cabinet would have to go cautiously to work to realise their aim. Its best method would be to enter the field of production, and bodily attack the present system of exchange," and again, "But let us be clear. No Socialist Government would enter into production ostensibly for the purpose of either abolishing money or the system of exchange. They would be laughed at by the ignorant, who for a long time yet will remain in the majority," and further, "Socialists are in favour of direct employment, and will, without question, force the hands of the Government to move in this direction against its will." We would thus appear to have arrived at a condition of affairs in which we have an ignorant majority but yet a Socialist Government. This Socialist Government would not enter into production on Socialist lines, because they would be laughed at. The hands of the Socialist Government would be forced (against their will) by the Socialists! Now mark this is not a position arising from a division in the House suddenly placing the Socialist Party in office, because "The capitalists, defeated at the poll, etc." The unwilling Socialist Government has beaten the capitalists at the ballot box, although "the ignorant are still in the majority." "Let us be

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

SUNDAYS.		4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	G. H. Smith	R. H. Kent	F. W. Stearn	H. Newman
Barking Broadway	7.30	H. Newman	P. Dumenil	T. W. Allen	J. Crump
Barking Road, Boleyn Tavern	11.30	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	J. Kennett	H. King
Earlsfield, Magdalen Road	11.30	F. E. Dawkins	H. King	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett
Clapham Common	3.30	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson
Finsbury Park	3.30	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	T. A. Jackson	T. A. Jackson
Ilford, Roden Street	7.30	A. Anderson	A. Reginald	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts
Manor Park, East of Essex	11.30	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips	E. Fairbrother
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	J. Kennett	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	H. C. Phillips
Peckham Rye	6.30	T. W. Allen	H. J. Newman	F. C. Watts	A. W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	11.30	T. A. Jackson	T. A. Jackson	J. Crump	H. Newman
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	R. H. Kent	A. W. Pearson	T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Newman	A. Anderson
"	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins
"	7.30	R. H. Kent	J. Crump	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
"	7.30	J. Crump	G. H. Smith	R. H. Kent	G. H. Smith

MONDAYS.—Upton Park, 8.30. Watford, Market Place, 8.30.
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Paddington, Kilburn Lane, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8.
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

clear," says Mr. Hazell. Well, let us, by all manner of means, let us.

No wonder that Mr. Hazell assumes that his Government is full of trouble! It wants to borrow money, but has trouble with the financiers; an agitation in the country has succeeded in getting passed through the House the Right to Work Bill, which increases its difficulties; it is afraid to raise the income tax beyond a certain point because that might cause civil war; but at last the sun appears upon the horizon. The Government receives an order from the Colonies for a war-ship, to cost two millions. To enable it to construct this monument to the establishment of the brotherhood of man, it issues paper to the value of two millions, which it redeems when the Colonies pay over the cash for the Socialist "Dreadnought." It extends its undertakings and its profits enable it to defy all opposition. I did not think that warships and profits would play a part when a Socialist Administration had been elected, but I suppose I was wrong.

There are other points in the pamphlet I should like to deal with did space permit, but only one will I touch upon now. If Mr. Hazell endeavours to assist me will he please state whether there will be a "reserve army of labour" under Socialism—an army of unemployed seeking work? I ask this because on page 15, after the "Reformers" have won, when "the organisation of labour is now so perfect that there is a superabundance of wealth," he refers to the drafting of "surplus" labour into particular departments, and I do so wish to be "clear."—Yours etc., KENDRICK JOHNS.

September 9th, 1908.

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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To the Secretary,

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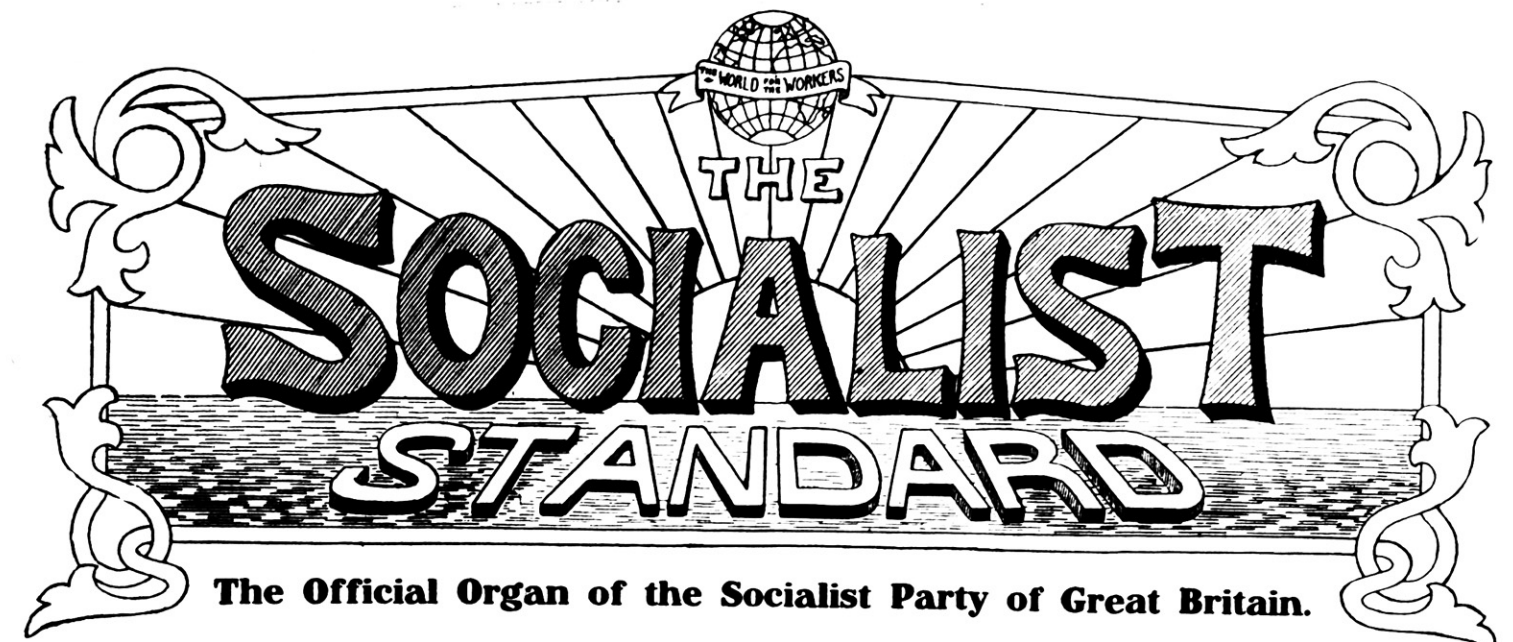
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 51. Vol. 5.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

REVOLUTION.

THE PROBLEM OF THE OUT OF WORK.

The free born wage-worker of to-day has a heaven that is peculiar to himself and his age, and which speaks volumes for the wretchedness of his position. It is his paradise to be exploited regularly—to have plenty of work—while his hell is to have none. And, truly, the hell is genuine enough! Use, however, becomes second nature, and many a worker is so inured to his position that he accepts his lot uncomplainingly, or even with a certain smug satisfaction, so long as he is in work, his "manly" breast swells with pride when he hears the politicians talk of "honest toil," and he grasps with humble gratitude the few mouldy crumbs that are flung to him out of the heap of good things he has created. So might the chattel slave have been proud of his chains, grateful for the offal thrown to him, and jealously appreciative of the dignity of his toil and his right to do it.

Modern times, however, differ somewhat in that the society of to-day cannot feed its slaves. Its slaves go begging for a master and yet are turned empty away. Thus in a period that is heir to the discoveries of the ages, and that possesses means multiplied a thousand-fold for producing all the good things of life, and wherein labour-saving devices have reached a perfection hitherto undreamed of, there exists, nevertheless, among the very class whose labour made this abundance possible, a mass of poverty and suffering that makes the famines of olden time trivial by comparison.

And this is caused, not by scarcity, as of old, but by sheer plenty! The producers are but the hirelings of those who own field, factory, and workshop, and these leave no stone unturned in their feverish anxiety to find means, by improved combination and machinery, of reducing the number of wage-slaves they need hire. Hence the unemployed—a permanent and growing feature of capitalist society.

During the coming winter, indeed, the question of unemployment may be expected to reach an acuteness never before equalled. And what will the master class do? Will they solve the unemployed problem? Only fools think so, for the master class themselves confess that it is, to them, insoluble. They neither can nor will solve this riddle of the Sphinx. A capitalist system without unemployed would be impossible, and our masters know it.

Economic development under capitalism, however, makes the out-of-work army grow rapidly to huge dimensions and become in fact a serious menace to the security of the class that rules. Indeed, the indifference of the ruling class and the needs of the unemployed make disturbance the only resource of the latter in their endeavour to get an immediate plate of soup or crust of bread to prolong their pitiable existence. Yet, by appealing to the class in power to do something what will they get? What but promises and then more promises? What but paltry relief works that do not relieve and votes of sums of money that may not be spent? Works that can wait no longer for execution will be said to be put in hand to "help the unemployed." If a City alderman, having worn out seat of his trousers with constant dining, buys a new pair, it will also, presumably, be for the sake of the unemployed, just as tramway works that have been delayed until they can be delayed no longer are started ostensibly "to relieve the unemployed." And so the fraud goes on.

Meanwhile the unemployed, as though their misfortunes were not great enough, continue to have their misery exploited by reform organisations and fresh editions and emulators of John Burns. For whatever else the recent Grayson episode may have emphasised, it made once more abundantly clear that the "Labour" members are prepared—even anxious to range themselves on the side of Labour's enemies when it suits their book to do so, although whether this will be apparent to those who pay the piper is, unfortunately, still very dubious.

But so many things have happened that it would seem, must come to those who have pinned their faith to these Labour misleaders as direct blows, full between the eyes, and yet have been practically unnoticed, that there is little immediate hope that this last instance will have much greater effect. The Parliamentary group rely for their present maintenance upon working-class ignorance, and knowing how abysmal that ignorance is, feel safe in taking action the results of which must overwhelm them and render further misleading impossible directly the working class have anything like an adequate appreciation of their class interests. Just as recent bye-elections have been significant of nothing so much as of the desperate concern of the "Labour" members to hang on to the coattails of Liberalism outside the House, lest the security of their seats and their £200 a year be imperilled, so the Grayson incident made it clear that the methods to be pursued inside are those that will not embarrass the Government, and may result in recognition and advancement, if not to the elevation of a seat in the Cabinet, at any rate to the comfort and security of some minor official job that will remove them from the risk of the loss of their £200 a year consequence upon working-class enlightenment.

Of course, to us this was apparent from the very inception of the Labour Representation Committee and we said so. The "half-baked" and the semi-enlightened then preferred to call us very much the sort of name some of them are now applying to the opponents of Grayson. If, however, incidents similar to those referred to have the effect of opening a few eyes to the actual and potential power for working-class evil resident in this precious "Labour" Group, it will be some sort of satisfaction. They have now reached a stage where, as we have said, it seems almost incredible that any man could be left who failed to see just what the Parliamentary "Labour" leaders are after and where they are leading. The attitude of the S.P.G.B. is more than vindicated.

Let there be no misunderstanding as to our view of Grayson's action. Grayson is a man who has no very clear idea of where he stands upon questions of economics, who certainly does not understand the Socialist position, and who cannot, therefore, be accepted as in any adequate sense a representative of Socialism. He is, we should say, a product of Clarionism, Clarionism being compact of sentiment and snobbery, with a strong infusion of capitalist "progressive" ideas and a mild dash of Socialist thought—a queer compound that a staff consisting of little girls and old women, serve up for the gratification of the elect weekly.

From a product of this sort of food nothing great can be expected, but Grayson took up a position on the unemployed question in the House that, at any rate, compelled attention and translated into action a protest against the callous indifference of capitalism to the growing volume of misery that capitalism had created, and the flaccid, supine, "respectability" and "statesmanship" of the pseudo-Labour Group. With one accord these "Labour" gentlemen ranged themselves on the side of capitalism. Let that be included as a count in the indictment that in the name of the working class we bring against them.

And now, lest their treachery be too palpable, they hasten to explain that the Government were on the point of saying something, and they wanted to hear what it was before taking action. If the something had been unsatisfactory they proposed etc., etc. The same old story. The same contemptible lie, or the same hopeless, helpless stupidity whichever they like. First they do not know the forms of the House. We were to wait until they had time to familiarise them-

selves, and then we should see something. Then—give the Government a chance. Let us wait to see what it would do. If it did not do anything . . . Then again, let us see what Burns would make of his opportunity. If nothing came of it we . . . And so on.

Not even sufficient originality to invent a new lie or a decent excuse. They either knew that the Liberal Party, and the Liberal Party's jackal, Burns, would not do anything if they waited till the last trump, or the whole record of the Liberal Party was a closed book to them, or they had not even a glimmer of that essential antagonism of interest of which the Liberal Party is a political expression on the side of capitalism. In short, and not to put too fine a point on it, they were either damned fools or doubly damned knaves.

Now we have our Pete Currans who were cursing the forms of the House and praying for something to break them up, our Will Thornes who are forever mouthing "revolution" and the absurdity of awaiting the Government's convenience, our Jowetts who are always ready to make scenes if necessary, our Phillip Snowdens—the *Daily Mail's* fierce and bitter iconoclasts, and the rest of them turning to sneer at the theatricality (it may have been that, of course) of Grayson, and protesting that they could not be led by boys who indulge in expensive suppers and so on—banal peculiarities given off in the hope that that which cannot be justified may be obscured.

Well, since the Grayson outbreak the Government has spoken, and the unemployed know that, except for an additional £100,000, they are where they were last year. Burns is to administer the fund as before—a wholly grotesque sum in the hands of a wholly fraudulent (from a working-class point of view) administrator. In addition, the necessity of the unemployed is to be used as a means, if possible, of making up Haldane's special army reserve that would otherwise, in all probability, have failed to materialise. Indeed, the Liberal Party are full of sympathy for "the honest workman starving through no fault of his own." We don't think.

Keir Hardie, on behalf of the "Labour" Group, made certain dark references to what they would do if the Government's proposal was unsatisfactory. The "Labour" Group's action (at the time of writing) takes the form of an amendment expressing dissatisfaction!

One other notable thing the present agitation has emphasised that can only be very briefly referred to, viz., the impotence of the "one step at a time" or "something now" "Socialist," directly his "evolutionary not revolutionary" theory is put to the test. The people, the women and children, are starving. They want something now. What is the use of preaching Socialism to them?—before they get that they must die of want. And so they proceed to get the "something now" by asking Governments who, by their very nature, cannot prevent starvation and do not even pretend to try, to take action. And the Governments take "action," and have been taking "action," and the starving people continue to starve, and the children continue to cry, and the unemployed army grows and grows, until—until we have reached the stage of crisis where the honest adherents to the "something now" policy, in desperation of ever getting their "something now," throw in their lot with those who advocate riot and pillage as the only means by which food may be obtained immediately; the only means by which fear may be stricken into the hearts of the capitalist class. Overboard goes "evolution" (their brand), and in its place they preach—anarchy. They break up their stepping-stones to use them as missiles.

Well, to the extent to which this change of attitude represents the demolition of the quasi-intellectual posture, it is good. But we have to point out that to preach pillage is to bring trained, armed, and well fed men against untrained, unarmed, and starving men. The result is always harmful to the latter, although not necessarily more disastrous than the process of starvation they are at present undergoing, while the menace of a desperate crowd threatening to, or actually, running amok, invariably has quite a notable effect in stimulating the flow of doles.

While we cannot speak for God, as Cardinal Manning claimed to do, we agree that Manning

was quite right in affirming that a starving man was entitled to take food—notwithstanding that, as Curtis Bennet, the magistrate, pointed out, to the ferocious Will Thorne, M.P. (who mildly allowed himself to be bound over not to be naughty again), it was bad "law." If anyone knows of any alternative for a hungry man, woman, or child other than that of getting food by some means or other (any means being justified) or starving, we have still to hear of it.

The point is, then, that only out of fear for their own position and possessions can the "something now" be obtained from the capitalist class. And that fear is struck more surely and far deeper by the fact of a working class, understanding their class interests, consciously organising for the overthrow of the capitalist system in its entirety, than by any conglomeration of unorganised human atoms blindly struggling for food with no idea beyond their immediate requirements. These last can be dealt with and their agitation "scotched" by judicious sops, or, in the last resort, by the use of the police and soldiery. The former cannot be so easily put off the scent. It will have to rain sops like manna before any hope of check can be entertained.

Now, is it not high time that the working class—in work or out of work, realised the futility of expecting those who live by working-class exploitation to seriously grapple with a problem the solution of which would spell their extinction as a class? Instead of useless parading and futile tinkering with effects, is it not clear that the problem must be attacked at its root? Its root is in the system of capitalism, and as an evil to the workers it can end only when capitalism ends—when the means of living are owned and used by the democratic community of those who labour.

That, however, will not be accomplished by those whose source of life is profits, but will and can only be brought about by the conquest of the powers of government by the working class for that object. This is the only way to deal with the unemployed problem, for what avails it to waste time on effects if the source of the misery pours unchecked an increasing flood upon us? The task before us is not to appeal to the capitalist class to do something, but to organise the workers for the overthrow of that class so they (the workers) may do something for themselves. The battle-cry of the workers' party is not "The Right to Work," but "The Right to the Product of Our Labour," and that right waits only upon their might. That is the really revolutionary way.

And you, reader, have a duty as a worker to yourself and to your fellows—it is to join the political party of your class. If unemployment is to cease to be your scourge, if you in common with your fellows are to have your lot made brighter, if you and those dear to you are to have the means of health and happiness secured, you must take your place in the ranks, for the deliverance of the workers from wage-slavery can come from none others than the workers themselves.

The party of the working class is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which works democratically and consistently for the end of unemployed misery, and declines to exploit the wretchedness of the unemployed by parading them in futile appeal to the robber class. Your duty is to join it, for your only hope lies in the democratic organisation of your class for Socialism, since through working-class victory only can class oppression cease and the toiler come at last by his own.

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THE SOCIALIST IN ACTION.

THE TWO "POSSIBILISMS."

By P. M. Andre.

THERE is only one Socialism, but there are at the same time two ways of conceiving its realisation: the scientific way—that of international Socialism—and the "possibilist." Quite a large number of French Socialists have for a long time been suffering from the latter. Scientific Socialism does not believe that the Social Revolution can be brought about by stages. It is waiting for the social change to take place through the forcible seizure of the political power by the working class, and it is with a view to that seizing by force that it is organising the proletariat into a class party. The efforts it makes are all those of recruiting, educating, and organising. To get the greatest number of workers, both hand and brain, to understand that, in the words of Tiers, "they are everything in the nation, and can be everything whenever they want to," to show them the inevitable necessity for socialising the means of production, to draw them towards Socialism by a propaganda they can understand, and suited to their respective spheres; to use, in order that this propaganda should be as effective as possible, every means at our disposal under capitalist rule, legal means being thereby understood; to repudiate any proceeding capable of doing harm to the recruiting and educating of the masses—such are the essential features of the methods of international Socialism.

This method has for reformers the serious inconvenience of condemning Socialism to what certain busy people call "inaction." To recruit, educate and organise is, it seems, to do nothing. We must, perforce, wait until the recruiting, educating and organising of the proletariat is far enough advanced for the revolutionary seizing of the "State" to be brought to a triumphant issue.

And those who, in imitation of Roy de France, are "afraid to wait," are full of praise for a swifter method, that of "possibilism." By virtue of this last they begin the revolution all at once. This beginning takes place in different ways: by peaceful penetration or by direct action. They pretend to "act according to one's temperament," but in fact, try to realise, from this very moment, in the midst of capitalist rule, all the immediate possibilities of slices of Socialism. On the one hand they are associated with bourgeois reformers, in order to make popular and vote for reforms which, if added together, end to end, all along the centuries, will accomplish the transformation of property "without a blow being struck." On the other hand, not having enough patience to recruit, educate, and organise their workmen comrades, they reckon solely on the "active minority" in order to reduce in succession the rights of the masters, and for the expropriation of capitalism, workshop by workshop and factory by factory.

Radical "possibilists" and Anarchist "possibilists" have each in turn made trial of their own method. Every one of their experiments has proved an admirable lesson in facts for the French proletariat. The attempt made in 1893 by the railway union showed that merely proclaiming "general strike" and voting for it at congress was not sufficient for this pretended possibility of freedom to be actually realised by the will of a bold minority. Bomb-rule *à la* Ravachol and Emile Henry ended in a complete fiasco. Millerand's entry into the ministry proved that "peaceful penetration" in the Government laboratory changed the victor into a servant of the bourgeoisie. The recent manoeuvres of revolutionary syndicalism only succeeded in decaying into a military trap, those whose eyes were blinded by direct action. Finally, even the supreme manifestation, by which the General Federation of Labour wished to protest against the massacre of its troops, could not reach its full extent, because the active minority by itself alone would not be able to arrange for a general cessation of work, if only for the space of 24 hours. On the contrary, the 21st section of the *Livre*, because it is an educated and organised minority, because it has not exhausted its adherents by ceaseless strikes,

was able, in spite of the uncertainty of the movement, to save the honour of union organisation.

Thus, one after another, all the workings of "possibilism": reformist and Governmental preparation, Anarchist preparation, far from being the beginnings of the Social Revolution, have provided capitalist Government with an occasion for easy victories.

Victories of a day, doubtless, for if the hard lessons of experience discourage for a moment those amongst our people who "do not know how to wait," the greatest number of militant workers derive from those lessons greater confidence in the old method of international Socialism. Don't let us look for impossibilism under the pretext of possibilism. To fight by hundreds against thousands, with stones or wretched revolvers against sharpened swords and repeating rifles is useless heroism. Firing on proletarians in uniform, whilst exhorting them not to fire upon proletarians in work-a-day dress, is to put back the hour when the army will be on the side of insurrection. To excite by vain threats public opinion against workmen's organisations is to fetter the work of education which should go before and at length make possible the Social Revolution. Let us get ready for the victory of the proletariat by preparing the forces indispensable for that victory: recruiting, educating, and organising.

(Translated for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD from *Le Socialisme* by FRITZ.)

THE BURY DEBATE.

THE Executive Committee have received the following communication from Mr. Allan, who signs himself the General Secretary-Treasurer of the British Advocates of Industrial Unionism, with a request for publication. We have asked our comrade Fitzgerald for his remarks on the matter and append his reply.—Ed.

After a debate between the S.P.G.B. and the S.L.P. in Bury on August 2nd, in which the S.P.G.B. representative was Mr. Fitzgerald and the S.L.P. representative was W. Davis, the former gentleman endeavoured to slander the I.W.W. by stating that while the Industrial Unionists made a point against the Trade Unions in that they created their own scabs by expelling members who were out of employment and who allowed their dues to lapse for a period of say one year or so, the I.W.W. did so all the more because it had a rule expelling members out of employment who were sixty days in arrears. In proof of this he read from Article VI., Section 10, of the Constitution:—

All National Industrial Departments, National Industrial Unions, Local Unions and individual members of the Industrial Workers of the World that are in arrears for dues and assessments for sixty days, counting from the last day of the month for which reports and remittances are due, shall not be considered in good standing and shall not be entitled to any of the benefits or payments from any fund of this organisation.

He claimed that the term "shall not be considered in good standing" was an Americanism which involved expulsion, and although the rule does not specifically state that members who are out of employment shall be dealt with likewise, he gratuitously assumed this in defiance of the well-known principle held by the I.W.W., that they shall be kept in the organisation by being excused payment of dues.

However, as I always like to be doubly sure, I wrote to W. E. Trautmann, General Secretary-Treasurer of the I.W.W., and this is a copy of his reply, which should effectually ram the lie back in Mr. Fitzgerald's teeth if he intended purposely to slander the I.W.W., or gently correct him if he was only mistaken.

COPY OF W. E. TRAUTMANN'S LETTER.
Chicago Ill., U.S.A.
Aug. 17, 1908.

Comrade and Fellow-Worker,

In reply to yours of August 3rd, I wish to state that there is no occasion for anybody to drop out of the I.W.W. when once a member, as those out of a job are exempt from paying any dues, etc.; but if those who work and earn money so that they could pay their regular dues to the organisation, neglect their duty, they

thereby suspend themselves, after three months lapse of time, from the organisation (Note, they suspend themselves. W.G.A.).

The Constitution, of which I enclose a copy, does not state that members out of work are exempt from payment of dues, but that has been the rule since the inception of the organisation, and is especially now of great benefit to the organisation, as those without jobs are allowed to continue the agitation for the I.W.W. as members thereof, although they do not pay dues and are receiving exemption stamps to show it.

(Signed) W. E. TRAUTMANN.

Further comment is needless, and if Mr. Fitzgerald is honest he will tender his apology and admit he was wrong.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
W. G. Allan.

20.9.08.

TO THE EDITOR,

5th October, 1908.

Dear Comrade,

Beyond a further point of explanation of the occurrence at Bury I can add no evidence to that so conclusively embodied in Mr. Allan's own letter as to the truth of my statement.

I stated that the Constitution of the I.W.W. by excluding members for a shorter period of non-payment of dues than the ordinary trade union, helped to make its own blacklegs faster than those they (the I.W.W.) denounced, and pointed to unemployment as the chief cause of this non-payment. Mr. Allan first denied that such a rule existed, and when confronted with a copy of the Constitution, and the rule he quotes in his letter was pointed out to him, he tried to escape by saying that there was another rule exempting those unemployed from payment of dues. He was at once handed the Constitution and challenged to find such rule, and, of course, failed to do so. The letter purporting to come from W. E. Trautmann re-emphasises this fact by stating that "The Constitution does not state that members out of work are exempt"—the only point in dispute. What fancy, unwritten laws may prevail in Chicago—or in Trautmann's mind—have no bearing on the point, seeing that the I.W.W. was formed in 1905, has had a convention each year since, and is still without such a rule in its Constitution.

Mr. Allan says that "although the rule does not specifically state that members out of employment shall be dealt with likewise, he (Fitzgerald) gratuitously assumes this in defiance of the well-known principle held by the I.W.W." It is a pity Mr. Allan did not read the rule he himself quotes, as it there states "ALL . . . individual members," etc. This admits of no exception, and therefore I assumed nothing in the matter. As to it being a "well-known principle," so little is it either a "principle" or "well-known" that it is embodied in neither the Preamble nor the Rules.

The only lie in the case is Mr. Allan's assertion that the I.W.W. had a rule in its Constitution exempting unemployed members from payment of dues, the falsity of which is fully proved by his own letter. The only apology due is one owing to your readers for having to go over ground already fully dealt with in our debate with the Advocates published in the August and November, 1907, issues of this journal.

Fraternally yours,

J. FITZGERALD.

ANOTHER ROD IN PICKLE.

The Constitutional Association being dead and its "Black Marias" scrapped after a few hours of pitifully inglorious life, the Anti-Socialist Union, with Mr. Claude Lowther as President, bobs up with its little lot. "The standard works of Socialism are being studied, and every candidate (for a speakership in the Union) will be subjected to a *viva voce* examination of a hundred questions before being regarded as qualified. Pamphlets will be published . . . and a circle of anti-Socialist writers, speakers, M.P.'s and others will be formed, who will meet once a month and exchange ideas."

So once more we are in for a nice hot time—running round to try and find where the anti-

Socialist members of the Union are on the stump. The difficulty with the Constitutional Association was that it took the precaution not to announce where its great public demonstrations against Socialism were to be held, and when we did happen to alight upon one, the anti-Socialist speaker took the very necessary step of refusing opposition. As the *Daily Express* rather naively pointed out, it was dangerous to allow a Socialist on an anti-Socialist platform because the Socialist was in possession of the facts and the "anti" was not, the result being that the Socialist made Socialists while the "anti" made well-made rather a fool of himself! What they had to do, then, according to the *Express*, was to wait until a certain handbook was published, which would contain information that would simply wipe the Socialist propagandist off the map. We waited patiently and with some interest for our untimely end to overtake us, but that dark, documentary spell-binder never saw the light, and the "Black Marias" out of which our doom was to be pronounced, are probably now doing more useful service as coffee stalls.

The Anti-Socialist Union's special line, however, is not a book, but a list of 100 questions. When all these have been answered satisfactorily, its speakers take the road, and the *Daily Express*, unabashed, anticipates that that moment will see the rout of the Socialists commenced.

Well, the *Express* is welcome to its anticipation, and it had better get all the comfort it can before the realisation comes. Because if there is one thing more certain than another it is that the Socialists will run when the rout commences—in chase of the "antics," who will be hot-foot in retreat.

But we fear that, although it is welcome to it, the *Express* gets no very satisfactory comfort out of its anticipation. The *Express* is vastly more knave than fool, and although it may jeer at our confidence, it knows quite well that its anticipation will never be realised. However, our contemporary cannot be expected to admit anything of the sort. Its express purpose in life is to run the gamut between the mild perversion and the downright lie, particularly when dealing with the position of the Socialist. Its business is not to say what it thinks so much as to say what it wishes its readers to think. And as the potential orators of the Anti-Socialist Union will doubtless be amongst its most assiduous devourers, they may, if they are very simple, derive sufficient confidence from the utterances of the organ of the greatest luster on earth to go on with their work—particularly if, as will doubtless be the case, a decent stipend is attached to the job.

We only wish that it were possible for us to be present at some of the meetings of the circle whereat "ideas" will be exchanged. Might we suggest to the Anti-Socialist Union that the public be admitted at a small charge. We at any rate would get full value for our outlay—in merriment.

However, let them all come, and the sooner the better—for us. But we hope the two first questions on that hundred list will not be, say, "Is there any remedy for the poverty problem that will stand the test of examination other than Socialism?" and, "Is there one single useful or necessary thing performed by the capitalist to-day that the workers, properly organised, could not perform for themselves?" Because in that case there is a very good chance that the other 98 questions will never be reached and therefore the complete anti-Socialist propagandist never be fashioned and let loose to add to the gaiety of life. And that would be a pity indeed.

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The Socialist Standard,



SATURDAY, NOV. 1, 1908.

Newcastle.

HARTLEY'S programme in the Newcastle election had one advantage over Burrows' in Haggerston. It was rather less windy. But it was not more sensible because of that. Said Hartley, "First, last, and all the time I am a Socialist; knowing that Socialism is the only hope of the workers, and the only escape from your present difficulties."

That was good enough for us. But Hartley continued, "The first and most important question is that of unemployment. I am in favour of public provision of useful work for the unemployed at not less than trades union rates of wages." And there the fatuous baffledness of the reformer came in.

The fact is that you cannot have public provision of useful work for the unemployed at trade union or any other rate of wages, while the capitalist is in control. The unemployed are an inevitability under capitalism, and a necessity. Socialism alone will solve the unemployed problem, and then the question of wages will not arise.

What, then, was Hartley's duty if "first, last and all the time" he was a Socialist? Clearly to emphasise the fact that "the first and most important question" must remain unanswered until the workers answered it themselves by securing control of the means of life; and that if they wanted something now they simply couldn't have it, except to the extent that by organisation they gave unequivocal expression to their determination to be after nothing less than Socialism. To that extent they would find the capitalist class prepared to make concessions in the way of work for the unemployed and other forms of doles.

The old, old Folly.

In unimportant matters such as "womans Suffrage the Quelches and Hartleys and the rest of the 'whole hoggers' point out against the 'limited' Suffragettes that the measure of the demand for votes will be the measure of the concessions made; that even if the 'limited' Bill was a good thing, the best method to secure it was to set up a fight for the complete measure. The governing class was bound to make as large a deduction from the total demand as possible, so that in asking for the lot and backing it up with organised determination, there was far more likelihood of getting approximately the total of the 'limited' measure than if the sum of the demand was no more than the 'limited' measure embraces.

Yet when it comes to the vastly more important question of the unemployed, we have the same Quelch-Hartleys falling back upon the despised methods of the 'limited' suffragists, and for the purposes of their pose as practical politicians, disguising the cold and brutal facts of the unemployed problem lest they lose votes thereby (what other explanation fits the circumstances than this?) what time they talk of half

loaves and other pseudo-remedial piffle, to meet immediate requirements.

They are more preposterous than the 'limited' suffragists. The 'limited' Bill, even the adult suffrage measure, may easily be obtained under present conditions—a very certain indication of the unimportance of both. But Hartley knows that this half loaf of his for the immediate consumption of the unemployed, cannot be secured at all under present conditions. Either he knows this or it is time he left the platform and did a little reading. Why then does he put this in the forefront of his programme? The only answer that occurs is that he knows his audience will probably not take the trouble to worry the thing out for themselves, and that while they are content to take his word for it, the thing looks feasible and within the range of "practical" politics. In other words Hartley, like Burrows, trades upon ignorance to capture votes. If he has any other explanation to offer we shall be glad to hear of it.

Another Sale.

The Newcastle election, however, did one good thing. It set in the strongest relief the fact that we have emphasised for years—and been sneered at for our pains. The "Labour" Party has sold itself, lock, stock, and barrel, to the Liberalism it professes to stand absolutely independent of. Even Joseph Burgess, to whose work the present position is admittedly largely due, breaks out in vehement protest against the "unholy compact between Liberalism and Labour" which has resulted in the Star Chamber (consisting of Henderson and MacDonald), which directs the "Labour" Party, frankly declining to contest Newcastle against the Liberal for fear of imperilling Hudson's seat, and invoking reprisals in other double-barrelled constituencies, from which the "Labour" member obtains his seat by collaboration with the Liberals.

Well, Burgess and the rest of them may howl. The murder was out for us long ago. The particulars we published in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD immediately following the general election left no sort of misapprehension as to the position, in the minds of anyone capable of weighing evidence. To-day the "Labour" Party stands confessed as a pitiable appendage of capitalist Liberalism, worse than useless from a working-class point of view, and only concerned to save the worthless carcasses of the members from being cast into the outer darkness that lies beyond the walls of St. Stephens, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, because of the lost two hundred dirty pieces of gold (as Burns, the capitalist tout and working-class harpy, once unkindly called them) and all the kudos and the potentialities thereof, that attach to the position of a member of Parliament.

How Long?

Just how long the trade unions will be prepared to find the money to keep this wretched gang in position is a moot point. It will depend, of course, absolutely upon the spread of Socialist thought amongst the union workers. Our part is to propagate the principles of Socialism on every available opportunity, to the end that a Socialist group under the direction and control of Socialist constituencies, shall appear for the first time in the Parliament to displace the alleged Labour group, put an end to the sham divisions between Liberal and Conservative capitalists, force them all into one camp in open antagonism to working-class interests (they will go soon enough when faced with direct issues) and give expression to the proletarian revolt without by ceaseless, irreconcilable struggle within until the capture of political power has been accomplished in the name of the workers of the world.

The guarantee that the shameless sale of working-class interests which it is now obvious to anybody the "Labour" group has been party to, cannot be repeated by a Socialist group, consists in the fact that a Socialist member of Parliament is unthinkable apart from a Socialist constituency. A Socialist constituency instructs its Parliamentary delegate, and removes him incontinently if he departs from his instructions. He is, and must remain, servant, never master, never anything else than delegate. Given a

Socialist constituency, therefore, "deals" are impossible. Without the Socialist constituency, the Socialist member is impossible.

Well, comrades, let us get at it. The barometer of our success will be the rise of the storm of indignation which the awakening workers will direct against the Parliamentary "Labour" misleaders who have gone over to the enemy, as well as against that band of hope—the misleaders who are still awaiting the chance of "getting in"—who have aided and abetted the treachery.

The Price of a "Labour" Member.

Arising out of the Newcastle discussion, Mr. Frank Rose (*Clarion*, Oct. 2), replying to the charge that the "Labour" members are more concerned with the safety of their own seats than with the "bigger, bolder, and better policy" which he (Rose) would like to see adopted, says "Why should they not look after their seats? . . . The critical Simon Pures who have not got seats to lose might act differently if they had seats. On the other hand, they might not. I want a bigger, bolder, and better policy, but I do not expect one for a farthing a week."

This is as frank as we shall get it. If those who pay the wages of the "Labour" members want better value they must pay a bigger price. You cannot expect a big, bold policy on £200 a year. Personally, Rose would have taken the exact opposite of the action the Executive of the Labour Party took, but you cannot get big, bold action like that for the present price paid. All you can expect is that the "Labour" members shall look after their seats and their paltry £200 a year. The £200 a year is clearly due to them for the worry and trouble they are caused in keeping those seats!

A very big, bold gospel; a very precious gospel, this. Now if we had said that the "Labour" members were primarily after their salaries and were prepared to sell out their convictions as to the necessity for a big, bold policy, because they only received a paltry £4 a week and required £5 or more before they would move further than they do move, what in the way of base columniators should we have been according to Rose & Co.? And yet that is, in effect, precisely what Rose would have us understand in this connection. Well, Frank Rose is in the running for a job at the regulation salary. He holds that a bigger, bolder policy is necessary. He holds that the workers can't have that policy at the price. So, presumably, he will, if he gets the job, go in for the policy that is useless—even as the other "Labour" members.

What other attitude should he adopt? It would certainly seem to us as "impossibilists" and "vulgar persons," that the only action possible to a man holding Rose's views is to retire from candidature altogether or until such time as the money, upon which alone a big and useful policy can be pursued, is forthcoming. But then Mr. Rose is not a Simon Pure.

However, for the present the workers are to understand that they must raise their members' screw if they want anything more than a receipt for the money, or, although the alternative does not seem to strike Mr. Rose, they may sack their present employees and get representatives instead of job-hunters. When they understand they surely will. Meanwhile their leaders do not intend to show them the way to the bigger, bolder and better policy. They are not paid to!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "Trades Unionist" (Vancouver, B.C.).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago).
 "Club & Institute Journal" (London).
 "The Keel" (Tyneside).
 "Labor" (St. Louis).

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ADMIRER (Manchester). Your letter splashes gay colour upon the drab of things. 'T would be churlish not to be grateful. But be not unduly depressed. For the student of Copernicus, Darwin and Newton there is always hope.

THE PILLORY.

MR. JOHN BURNES at Tynemouth, 14.10.08 (*Daily News* report) said in reference to the Tariff Reformer's allegation that under Free Trade England was a country of vanishing trades, "If that was true (which he denied) it was unpatriotic to allege it." Burn's conception of patriotism is, then, a reading out to lie with all the heart, and soul, and strength, when circumstances require it. Burns is a pathos—for £2,000 a year!

David Cumming of the Boilermakers, has gone the way of Isaac Mitchell, of the General Federation. They both have jobs under the Board of Trade, and the capitalist class will doubtless find them eager to justify their salaries. It is better so. In the ranks of the workers they were worse than useless. The workers know now where they are—and why. George Barnes is said to be in the running for a similar job. He also will be better the more—if he goes. At present he denies it. But these denials are generally to be taken *cum grano sali*. If George doesn't go it will probably be due to the fact that he hasn't a biblical name. Men with biblical names seem in much greater request, witness John, Isaac, and David. Now if George had been named Barrabas—

A. S. Headingly, of the S.D.P., is advertised in the *St. Louis Labor* (3.10.08) as open to speak in the large cities of America at 15 dollars a time. It is not stated whether his address will consist of exhortations to the workers to keep their finger-nails clean and see that the crease in their pants is always in perfect alignment, or whether he will take as his subject "the application of soap below the collar line and its relation to the Revolution." These grave questions will doubtless be duly considered as usual, notwithstanding that the lecturer's fee is so low.

We have been requested to announce that "on Oct. 12th the Rev. Ernest J. B. Kirtlan, B.A., B.D., late chaplain of H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, member of Fabian Society, and lecturer for the S.D.P., will speak in connection with the anniversary of the South London Wesleyan Mission. Subject: 'Fag-Ends.'" The combination of qualifications and the occasion, not less than the importance of the subject, have impelled us to comply. We are sorry that the address will have been delivered some weeks before we can publish the news to the world, but we have done what we could.

Act 1. Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., introduces a Bill to provide for a citizen army.

Act 2. The S.D.P. issue a pamphlet explaining what Mr. Thorne means. (This was laudable and eminently necessary.)

Act 3. Has not yet been constructed. It might properly take the form of an explanatory pamphlet on the S.D.P. explanation of Mr. Thorne's Bill.

Mr. A. E. Wachter is, I understand, a well-known *Clarion* Scout in his own neighbourhood. He writes to the *Sunday Chronicle* to enlighten a "middle-class father of eight," who seems to have alleged that the working "classes" do not pay rates. Mr. Wachter says the working "classes" do pay rates. Mr. Wachter should read THE SOCIALIST STANDARD regularly. It would save him making exhibitions of ignorance. The working class does not pay rates; and there is only one working class. To refer to working classes is absurd.

"He did not care tuppence for the abstract opinion of any man who did not come into his trade union and plank down his little bit of money and do his little bit of work." (G. N. Barnes, M.P., Salford, 4.9.08.) The value of a man's views is in proportion to the regularity with which he planks down his little bit of money in the union. Mr. Barnes is refreshingly frank.

At the Sanitary Inspectors' Conference at Liverpool on the 9th, Sir J. Orichton-Browne said that if Mrs. Hemans were alive she would

have to add another verse to her well-known poem in eulogy of tenement buildings. It would probably run, he said, thus—

The tenements of England, piled tier on tier on high,
 Stand not by brooks, in verdant nooks, that rest and glad the eye,
 But they rest fair, in sun and air, are clean and free from croup,
 And safely there the weary sleep, and the sickly cease to droop.

If this is humour it is of the type that requires labelling. If it is not perhaps the least unkind remark one could make would be that Sir J. C. Browne's poetry is at least as good as his facts; to which might be added that while the poet may properly claim licence for his fanciful figments, the scientist must make his appeal on more solid ground.

SOCIALISM V. RELIGION.

MR. H. M. HYNDMAN, having been badly mangled (by his brother Rothstein and others) on the German war scare issue which, in conjunction with brother Blatchford, he was good enough to offer the general Press as an excellent subject for a silly season discussion, has broken out in a fresh place. We have now to beware of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestantism has been played out "by the growth of popular science and freethought," but apparently the same growth is playing in the power of the Pope, or the religious organisation the Pope is the figurehead of. Really, H. M. H. has mistaken his vocation. He should be where positive genius for "scare heads" would be appreciated. He is the silly season writer par excellence. He can provide an acceptable substitute for the great gooseberry every time.

Clericalism, high church, low church, Roman church, "Labour" church, and tin Bethelism of any calibre, are all in the ruck of reaction. Their power for evil depends, so far as we are concerned, upon the measure of working-class ignorance prevailing. Given that change in social conditions that will free men economically, the religious forms and influences which have been built up and maintained upon economic subjection, must go. Our business, therefore, is to direct the working-class mind toward that change of social conditions.

But does not the influence of the churches tell against our efforts? It does where it can, of course, but its effect is not one to be troubled about, and very far indeed from being strong enough to warrant our departure from the course mapped out for us. The forces that affect the stomach are on our side. The armies of mankind move upon their stomachs. A starving man, offered the bread that perishes or the water of life, grabs at the bread every time—naturally.

The evolution of industry creates the starving man. We show him the way by which alone he may find the full satisfaction of his needs. The churches pretend to show him the way to heaven. The hollowness of the pretence may not appeal to him. The emptiness of the offer does. Hence the dilemma of the churches and their efforts to compromise on blankets and coal tickets. But it won't do. The futility of charitable schemes and the offence of charitable schemes are alike too palpable. The Socialist alone holds the field. He alone can show the reason for the starving man. He alone can show the starving man the road to the ever full dinner pail.

Therefore we need not trouble about the churches. If they get too near our path we may give them a passing thump with the club of our argument. We can do that in our stride. As for concentrating upon the iniquity of "the Holy Catholic Church," or turning out of our path to engage it, that is sheer Hyndmaniacal nonsense. The Holy Catholic Church may go hang. When we have nothing more important to do it might well be possible to amuse ourselves by crumpling it up. But we have a long way to go before we can afford the time. ALEGRA.

The only way to guard against throwing your vote away is to vote for the party that stands for what you stand for. To vote for something that you don't want in order to avoid something else that you don't like to do worse than throw your vote away.—*The Call*.

DYNAMITE.

Jeering at the claims of the Tariff Reformer as the possessor of a nostrum that will alleviate poverty, Burns, at Tynemouth, 14.10.08 (*Daily News* report) said "I am not a prophet, but I suggest this: If Protection were in existence, it would never see one hard summer because the people would perish." So. The people who under Free Trade have so great an advantage over the miserable wretches who are forced to exist under Protection, are so strong, so virile, so well nourished after their generations of prosperity, that they would perish in one summer of Protection that the miserable weaklings of Protection manage, somehow, to pull through years of. No, we should not describe Burns as a prophet. A much shorter word will suffice. He doesn't seem to have sense enough to know when he is giving the game away. Verily, if his salary is to be preserved to him the Lord must make quick and violent incision in him, for he is indeed raw.

"In Newcastle Mr. Hudson (Labour) was hand in glove with the Liberal candidate at the last (general) election. He was entertained at the Liberal Club less than 36 hours before the election, and he urged his supporters to split their votes between the Liberal and himself, which was very loyal indeed."

Sunday Chronicle, 13.9.08.

"Mr. Hudson says that he is not going to take a hand in the contest and his attitude is the outcome of his loyalty to the Labour Party. Newcastle is a strong one-man seat for Labour. Two Labour candidates mean that both would be defeated at the next general election."

Sunday Chronicle, 20.9.08.

"The Independent Parliamentary Labour Party which boasts of its independence of either of the old political parties, has refrained from putting up a candidate at Newcastle because Mr. Hudson, the 'Labour' member for the double-seated constituency, believes he cannot be independent of the Liberal vote at the next election; or, at any rate, the leaders of his party believe that. . . Conservatives can afford to smile at the sight of Labour kow-towing to the Liberals who make helots of some state servants."—*Evening Chronicle*, 18.9.08.

"Forty-six deaths from starvation in the county of London for 1907."

Home Office White Paper.

The Registrar General's analysis of the 1901 census recently published shows that general labourers in industrial centres have an average mortality more than twice as high as the average for all workers, while the mortality among clergymen is less than half the average.

"The time is fast approaching when the real struggle will be between the man who wields hammer and chisel and the man who holds the cash-box—Capital versus Labour, if you like. Whig and Tory must give place to these."

The Business Man's Magazine.

Whig and Tory know this already. The *Business Man's Magazine* writer's point is merely that Whig and Tory will soon be forced to drop the present pretence of political partisanship in the general interest and come out in what the draper would call "fast colours."

Since the law came into operation that closed public houses in Scotland all day on Sunday and early on Saturday, the proportion of charges of drunkenness and disorderliness per 1,000 of the population of Glasgow has increased from 17.7 in 1904 to 27.7 in 1907 according to the official figures supplied by the Chief Constable of Glasgow. In 1904 there were 13,850 charges; 1905, 15,263 charges; 1906, 20,458 charges; and in 1907, 22,314. This is how the facts support the argument of the temperance crank that the absence of facilities for drinking prevents drinking being indulged in.

From 1896 to 1905 the total deaths from all classes of accidents in connection with mines in the United Kingdom was 10,202. (Blue Book.)

The latest report of the General Board of Commissioners states that since 1858 lunacy in Scotland has increased by 202 per cent. as against a population increase of 58 per cent. On the 1st January last the total number of insane person in Scotland was 17,908.

"According to the Board of Trade 'Labour Gazette,' returns from 268 trade unions, having a net membership of 648,585, showed 8.9 per cent. of the net membership as unemployed. According to the report of the New York State Labor Department, out of a total of 387,450 trade unionists reported on, 138,131, or 35.7 per cent., were unemployed on 31 March. The New York correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* stated, on 27 April, on the authority of Mr. Herman Robinson, general organiser of the American Federation of Labor, that at least 40 per cent. of the trade unionists of the city of New York were unemployed on 1 April." *Morning Leader*, 5.10.08.

PARTY PARS.

THE four volumes of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, strongly and neatly bound in one, are now obtainable for 6s 6d., post free. The number available is limited and orders will be executed in the order of their receipt. It is, therefore, necessary to apply early. The volume is unique. It contains more real information upon current working-class questions in their relation to Socialism than any other publication obtainable. To the workers it is of high educational worth. To the propagandist it is invaluable. Therefore stand not on the order of your orders but order.

The Hyde I.L.P. beg to decline to entertain the challenge of the Manchester S.P.G.B. to debate. They do not see what good purpose will be served. They mean they do not see how the I.L.P. will benefit. Neither do we. We only think the working-class audience would benefit by having their outlook cleared. But perhaps the Hyde I.L.P. are not concerned with working-class enlightenment.

A branch is in process of formation in Liverpool. All those who accept the position of the S.P.G.B., but only those, are urgently requested to put themselves in communication with Sam Myers, 53, Mount Vernon Street, Liverpool.

The *British Columbia Trades Unionist* in its special Labour Day number reproduces with due acknowledgment, "Fritz's" translation of "World Crises" from our Party Organ, in addition to the Declaration of Principles in its entirety. The latter is cheek by jowl with an article upon the progress of the "Socialist" movement as expressed by the "Labour" Party in England! We have done nothing, surely, to deserve this. It is very hard.

At an open air meeting of the Romford Division Branch last May, held outside the "Cock" Hotel, Mr. C. W. Peachy, on behalf of the S.L.P., challenged our speaker to debate. The General Secretary of the S.L.P. in Edinburgh was at once notified and requested to say if Mr. Peachy was a duly accredited representative, so that we could proceed to arrange details of the debate with him, Mr. Peachy being, as a matter of courtesy, informed of the steps that were being taken. Up to the present the rest has been silence from both the General Secretary and Mr. Peachy. Why? We pause for a reply.

During the Winter months many opportunities may be found of pushing the sale of the Party literature at the innumerable indoor meetings which the other political parties are organising in the vain endeavour to stay our progress. The members of this Party are not expected to hibernate.

THE FORUM.

SOME OPEN DISCUSSIONS.

Statements of difficulties, criticisms of our position, contributions upon any question of working-class interest, are invited. Members and non-members of the Party are alike welcome. Correspondents must, however, be as brief as possible, as bright as possible, and as direct as possible to the point.

SOME COMMON OBJECTIONS TO THE S.P.G.B.

RUFUS (Isleworth) writes to suggest that we should cease from "villifying the S.D.P. or I.L.P." If these are wrong he thinks they should be let go their own way. The main difference, he submits, between the S.P.G.B. and the other parties is one of method. He asks if it is not possible for some common ground of action for all "progressive forces" to be found, and hopes that THE SOCIALIST STANDARD will be "kept for Socialism, the one grand hope of our workmen. The policy of washing one's dirty linen in public is very questionable." "Rufus" will find in back numbers of this paper, answers to all his points. In the Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (one penny) he will find our attitude completely eradicated. "Rufus" and anyone else concerned is heartily recommended to read that pamphlet. No one has been able to touch its argument so far. No one can dispute its evidence. However, we will briefly reply to his points here. Where have we "villified" the said Parties? Is it villification to criticise and denounce their wrong-doing, if that wrong-doing is calculated to mislead the working class, and to that extent delay the organisation of the workers on class-conscious lines—the necessary preliminary to Socialism? That is the limit of our villification—if that is what "Rufus" means by the word. We should be traitors to our class if we failed to do that. We would "let them go their own way" quite readily if they did not take a section of the working class with them. Because they do, and because their way is the wrong way, and does not lead to their professed objective (only sometimes professed, by the way) viz., Socialism, we must, being Socialists, endeavour to arrest them. The difference between our Party and those other parties is a difference of principle. The SOCIALIST STANDARD, says "Rufus," should be kept for Socialism. Agreed. As also must the Socialist Party, or it ceases to be the Socialist Party. If the Socialist Party occupied nine-tenths of its time in the advocacy of something which was not Socialism, could it be a Socialist party—particularly when the nine-tenths of its work had no necessary connection with Socialism, and consisted of proposals that capitalist parties were largely prepared, when necessary, to endorse? Would a capitalist party endorse a proposal that materially affected its interests? If not, can any of those proposals be seriously regarded as of material benefit to the working class, seeing that the interests of the capitalist class are always in direct opposition to the interests of the working class? If "Rufus" answers these questions in the negative, as we think upon careful reflection he must, he has the key to the position of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. The principle of the differences between us and the other parties consists in our recognition of the necessity firstly, secondly, and lastly, of organising the working class upon the basis of their class interests—of preaching and explaining Socialism, and that alone, to them as "the one grand hope," and of pointing out that nothing else matters. To the extent to which the other parties press upon the attention of the workers the things that do not matter, they are diverting their attention from Socialism—the only thing that does matter. They are dividing the working-class forces. They are not organising the working class upon the basis of class interests. They are asking the workers to concentrate upon demands that the capitalist class is quite prepared to concede under pressure—demands that in large measure the capitalist class of other countries have conceded with no

material advantage to the workers. Hyndman himself, no less, has admitted the futility of these demands—obviously futile when the capitalist class are ready to give them; for if there is one thing more certain than another it is that the capitalist class will not give anything that cuts into their profits.

That is the principle. All the other parties are reform parties. They advocate the things that are futile. Therefore we denounce their futilities and urge the workers to rally to the Socialist Party.

And that answers the question as to the common ground for all "progressive" parties to work upon. If Socialism, as "Rufus" admits, is the only hope, then the only common ground for "progressive parties" is the ground occupied by the Socialist Party. Ergo the only progressive party is the Socialist Party. The only Socialist Party is the S.P.G.B.

As to the objection to the washing of dirty linen in public, "Rufus" does not seem to see that the objection implies the existence of the dirty linen. "Rufus" thinks that anyhow it should be washed in private. That might be all right if the working class knew it for dirty linen. They do not—unfortunately. Therefore by cleaning it in public we show it is dirty.

THE RELATION OF PRINCES TO PAUPERISM.

The following is suggested as a suitable OPEN LETTER TO PRINCE ARTHUR OF CONNAUGHT.

Dear Arthur,—Has it not occurred to you that your visit to Glasgow to feast at the expense of the ratepayers displayed the worst possible taste, seeing that thousands of people were without bare necessities of life, owing to the fact that the parasite class to which you belong own and control the means by which the working class live? Had a brick-bat been hurled at your royal nose you would only have had yourself to blame. You must not think that you will be allowed to insult the people's poverty with impunity. You who have so much leisure time, ought to begin to understand the trend of events. The people are gradually awakening from their long sleep, and the day is coming when a nod from a lord will cease to be a breakfast to a fool. When the working class understand their economic servitude to the master class, they will set about taking over the means of producing and distributing wealth in their own interest. At such time the gilded puppets who now mock the people's woe will be found some useful job, at which there will be some possibility of them growing into men.—Yours fraternally, J. H. K.

What princes of the blood, or princes without blood, may do at the expense of the ratepayers does not affect the working class, who are not ratepayers, tuppence. Whether Prince Arthur is an amiable or callous fool, a gentleman of polish or a vulgar snob, doesn't matter a tinker's anathema. From a working-class point of view, he is no more than a portion of the frilling of the capitalist system. When Socialism supplants the capitalist system out go princes of the blood. The only point in the visit of Connaught minor to the high priced junketting of the city fathers of Glasgow at a time when thousands of men, women, and children in that "municipal Mecca" were (and are) literally on the verge of starvation, consists in the callous indifference of capitalism to the sufferings of the working class, and the utter hypocrisy of the pretence of monetary shortage. If this assists in bringing home to the workers of Glasgow the futility of expecting the employing class to do anything more than they are absolutely scared into doing to ameliorate the sufferings of the unemployed, it will have served its turn. The workers must, however, always remember that, although the capitalists under pressure are prepared to give out of their hoard, derived from the robbery of labour, some comparatively small percentage in doles, they are not prepared to relinquish their powers to rob. They will fight to retain these to the last ditch. And as this accentuated poverty problem will always recur while the capitalist class hold to their powers, the workers' only hope is to consciously organise themselves

for the fight that must precede such an alteration in the present system as will secure for the wealth producing class the wealth that class produces. That way—by organisation on Socialist lines for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, they will scare the doles out of the capitalists to-day, and at the same time forward their ultimate object. Organisation for the Revolution, therefore, will get that "something now" for which the one-step-at-a-time reformer pleads in support of his method, without setting back the revolutionary movement. Invariably this set back results from the adoption of the reformers' idea of concentrating upon a particular immediate reform, for the obvious reason that the reform when realised is painfully limited in its operations—as all reforms must necessarily be—and not having the ameliorative effect that the workers in their ignorance may have expected, disappointment is bred, and out of that apathy, and that stagnating indifference that is almost the despair of the propagandist of Socialism.

1. DOES POVERTY PREVENT CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS? 2. ON STATE MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN.

A.P. (Walworth.) writes a "friendly criticism" of our position extending to three folios, urging that although he recognises Socialism to be the only remedy, the working class are too unintelligent and ignorant in their present poverty-stricken condition to be able to achieve it. Free maintenance, he argues, is a necessary preliminary. He does not deny that it will bolster up capitalism, but says "the very process of patching up would play no small part in its downfall." In the first place A.P. errs in confusing ignorance with a lack of intelligence: intelligence meaning a capacity for knowledge rather than the knowledge itself. We deny that the working class are not sufficiently intelligent to understand Socialism, one of the reasons being that we are workers ourselves. What prevents the workers accepting Socialism is the confusion introduced into its propaganda by persons calling themselves Socialists, preaching and doing that which is inconsistent with Socialism. Poverty by itself does not incapacitate a person from understanding anything—many of the intellectual geniuses of all times have struggled with poverty; nor does poverty prevent a class from being revolutionary. Although the Peasants' Revolt in this country was undertaken when the peasants were in a condition of comparative prosperity, the revolt of the continental peasants—the Jacquerie of France, in particular—was undertaken at about the same time, when at the lowest ebb of degradation and poverty. To-day, the revolutionary spirit is certainly as manifest in the East End as in respectable Suburbia. Regarding free maintenance of the children, the very necessity of this as being the necessary outcome of capitalism is an indictment of capitalism, and the only remedy is Socialism. The working-class effort needed to agitate for and administer an adequate measure of state maintenance is about equal to that needed for the Social Revolution, and the working class capable of conducting the one is certainly equal to conducting the other—while Socialism would render the former unnecessary. And seeing also that while the capitalists rule they can only be persuaded to grant anything in that direction, apart from that which suits their own interests, by fear of something worse to follow, we know of nothing more calculated to impress the capitalist class with fear than the concentration of the workers on Socialism. It is quite a mistake to suppose that it is a tenet of this Party that reforms, sops, palliatives, and ameliorative measures generally would be refused. In the first place we cannot refuse them if we would, not having the power; in the second place we know that the danger lies not in having these things offered as a substitute for Socialism—but that would lessen our class-consciousness—but in stultifying our Socialism by advocating that which is not Socialism. To talk of the patching being necessary to its downfall is simply a contra-

diction in terms and in fact. The illustration used seems most unhappy. If an eloquent S.P.G.B'er were to convert Haggerston to Socialism, the next week a nice, kind gentleman with a cheque book would be able to convert it back again to Tariff Reform. If the eloquence of the former were successful in converting the working class in any constituency, that working class would be proof against the cheque book of the Tariff Reformer or any other agent of the master class. The cheque book is only powerful to-day because the workers are not converted and are not class-conscious.

TRADE UNIONISM.

H. A. BARKER (Longton) asks: A trade unionist, convinced of the necessity of Socialism, and knowing that capitalist government will as soon submit to the socialisation of the means of production and distribution as grant palliatives against their will, would the fact of him belonging to a trade union debar him from joining the S.P.G.B.? If not what is his attitude toward the trade union?

Membership of a trade union is not a disqualification for membership in the Party. The attitude of a member of our organisation in a trade union is the attitude of a Socialist among non-Socialists, that is, the position of a propagandist. Every time he comes into contact with his union and its members he takes the opportunity to emphasise the inefficacy of trade unionism to do anything towards achieving the emancipation of his class, and their lessening power in steadying the downward tendency of wages. To such propaganda some unions lend themselves more than others, in many it is only possible; but while it is necessary, and in some cases, essential, that a man shall belong to his union in order to live by his craft, we cannot debar unionists; and when the members of unions are converted to Socialism the nature of the organisation will change, their "leaders" will lose their power, and they will fall into line with the revolutionary movement so far as is necessary to that movement, or cease to exist altogether.

AT RANDOM.

"MAY I say there is a good deal of nonsense talked about capital?" Thus Lloyd-George at Swansea. And at once adds more "nonsense." As thus: "The greatest capitalist in this country is Nature." The implication that all wealth is capital should commend itself to Clarion Vanner (by the grace of Blatchford) Hick.

This product of what he himself described as the "stately cloisters of Oxford," told a motley gathering of I.L.P'ers, S.D.P'ers, etc. in Peckham that capital was "wealth used to produce more wealth." He affected to be much concerned when a member of the S.P.G.B. referred to him as a "catpaw of the capitalist class," and cried aloud for proof of the charge, hastily adding, at the same time, that no Socialist would be allowed on the platform in opposition.

Cumulative and damnable evidence could be given until further orders, that this brand of political quack is effectually doing the work of the master class in several directions, but the mere fact that one of the high-priests of Capital and the Vanner should be engaged in confusing the mind of the worker on vital points is sufficiently significant of itself.

Nothing suits the game of the capitalist class better than to point to the worker's pick, his shovel, his dinner-pail, to apostrophise his mental qualities, his endurance, his etc., etc., and call them "capital." For why? IT BLURS THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

"Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labour is used by living labour as a means to further production. Capitalism presupposes the existence of a class which possesses

nothing but labour-power. It is the LORDSHIP of realised labour over living labour that transforms stored-up labour into capital."—Author of pamphlet, "Karl Marx."

Kautsky, in the second section of his brilliant work, "Das Erfurter Programm," (issued by the Socialist Party of Great Britain in pamphlet form as "The Working Class," price one penny, honestly and correctly translated into English.) has pointed out that modern capitalism has developed a sorry type of proletariat—the educated wage-slave. The death of Churton Collins, a distinguished scholar and acknowledged authority on Shakesperian lore, is one of frequently occurring incidents which emphasises his miserable position who must prostitute his intellect to make a living, and hire out his commodity—education—to the highest bidder. The professor, dying by his own hand, was fearful as to the future maintenance of his children.

Meantime, a correspondent of the *Daily News* is suggesting that, to meet unemployment of teachers in London, the L.C.C. shall "reduce present salaries," and prevent teachers doing both day and evening work!

The *Review of Reviews* is concerned about "The Winter Feeding of Starving Children." (It is not going to let the S.D.P. monopolise that pitch.) In the September issue, p. 295, it says "It would be well if other firms were to follow Messrs. Allen & Hanbury's example by a systematic endeavour to educate the public in the general principles of the scientific feeding of children." On p. 303 is a long advertisement crying up the wares of the above named firm. The *Review of Reviews* "invites the aid of 'helpers.'" Helpers for what? Who said "alliances"?

From the same source we learn that it has been ascertained that the children "could be fed excellently well at a penny a meal, with a extra halfpenny for dinner."

Crouch low, you discontented dogs! Listen to the I.L.P. "Socialist," Liberal Stead at elbow, telling you the master class can provide sumptuous meals for your poor little kiddies at a penny a head, with a extra half-penny chucked in for dinner. Then, begone! run to your houses, fall upon your knees, pray to the tuppenny gods to intermit the plague that needs must light on "your" country for the ingratitude displayed by the Socialist Party of Great Britain in denouncing such a sorry combination of mouthing knaves and tricksters.

F. H. Rose, in the *Clarion* of 18.9.08 writes, with regard to the cotton dispute, "The masters bribe away the best and most knowing of the operators' officials by giving them better jobs and bigger salaries. It is a ghastly business. Yet if I were to say what every employer knows, I should be [charged with 'giving the game away.'"

Judged by his own words, F. H. Rose is a traitor to his own class. A deliberate charge is made against unions' officials which, unfortunately, is no doubt only too true. What plea can he bring forward to justify his silence or the matter? If fears for endangering his own chances as union official and "Labour" member, why take the pains to emblazon abroad his cowardice?

A significant cutting from *John Bull*. We pray you, note, aye, *nota bene!* "Just as the franchise is the political specific for revolution, nationalisation of the public services is the antidote to Socialism." Instead of which, that egregious political combination which is neither "independent" in action, nor "labour" in spirit, and which exists as a "party" only by grace of anonymous donors (see Manifesto p. 5) and middle-class "sympathisers," at its last Annual Conference passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Conference the time is ripe for the nationalisation of railways, and that our representatives be asked

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

SUNDAYS.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	J. E. Roe	P. Dumenil	H. Newman	G. H. Smith
Earlsfield, Magdalen Road 11.30	P. Dumenil	J. E. Roe	J. Fitzgerald	P. Dumenil
Clapham Common 3.30	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	T. A. Jackson
Finchbury Park 3.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson
Ilford, Roden Street 7.30	A. Anderson	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	T. W. Allen	H. Newman	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Peckham Rye 6.30	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	T. W. Allen	J. Crump
Tooting Broadway 11.30	T. A. Jackson	A. Barker	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson
" 7.30	A. Barker	P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	J. Fitzgerald
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 11.30	J. Kennett	A. W. Pearson	F. E. Dawkins	A. Anderson
" 7.30	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	R. H. Kent	G. H. Smith	R. H. Kent	J. Kennett
" 7.30	J. Crump	A. W. Pearson	J. Crump	H. Newman

MONDAYS.—Upton Park, 8.30.

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Paddington, Kilburn Lane, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke-Newington, West Hackney Church, 7.30.

to urge forward a measure to that effect in Parliament."

* * *

The Chancellor of the Exchequer says that pensions in Germany had not only raised the standard of life, but had had "the important result of improving the quality of the workman." Exactly. Read "Bountiful Bournville" in last month's issue of this paper in connection with this statement. Further comment would be what the Book of Common Prayer simply and beautifully calls "supererogatory."

* * *

The Manchester Guardian recently wrote "Mr. Hudson repudiated any alliance with the Liberals, but he had heard the good news which Manchester sent on the first night of the election in the not ungenerous atmosphere of the Liberal Club. Being called on for a speech, he said he most earnestly desired to see Mr. Cairns (Liberal) in as well as himself."

* * *

Mr. Hudson is a "Labour" M.P. The "Constitution and Organisation" section of the Manifesto of the "Labour" Party contains the following: "Candidates and members must abstain strictly from promoting the interests of any Party not eligible for affiliation." Is the Liberal Party "eligible for affiliation"? Verily, in the words of their own Chairman at the Belfast Conference, "The Labour Party were a queer party and they are a queer party."

* * *

At a "Socialist" demonstration recently, J. R. Clynes, another "Labour" M.P., and I.L.P.'er to boot, said "The unemployed are a waste to the country. Would it not be better to enable a man to work for his maintenance and something over for the country."

* * *

"Something over" = profit.
"The country" = the capitalist class.

* * *

In spite of protestations to the contrary, the "Labour" Group is out to maintain the present system. Its actions speak louder than its words, which, Heaven knows, should be loud enough to wake the somnolent wage-slave to a recognition of the real position.

* * *

"Radical Socialism," "I.L.P. Socialism," "Labour Socialism"—in short "Bourgeois Socialism"—all were summed up fifty years ago in the most luminous little working-class work ever penned (the "Manifesto of the Communist Party").

"Free Trade" for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties for the benefit of the working class. Prison reform for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism. It can be summed up in a phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois for the benefit of the working class." A. REGINALD.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

..... Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

BURNLEY.—J. R. Tomlinson, Sec., 10, Morley St., Burnley Wood, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament Street.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 124, Francis Rd., Tooting, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at 1, Groton Rd., Thornsett Rd., Earlsfield Station.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 at Lockheart's, Walham Grn.

ISLINGTON.—All communications to Sec. Branch meets Wed. at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—A. Mole, Sec., 12, Salisbury St., Moss Side. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m., at Lockharts, Oxford Street (opposite Palace Theatre). Public admitted.

PADDINGTON.—W. T. Hopley, Sec., 92, Rucklidge Avenue, Harlesden, N.W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. at Club. Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road, Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. J. Morrison, Sec., 118, Moselle Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

BATTERSEA BRANCH
S.P.G.B.
LABURNAM HOUSE,
134, HIGH STREET.

Lectures

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
IN THE HALL AT 8 P.M.

Nov. 1st—"Programmes and Policies"

J. FITZGERALD

"8th—"The Beginning and the End of Capitalism"

H. NEWMAN

"15th—"Why the Labour Party will not do"

R. H. KENT

"22nd—"Class Consciousness"

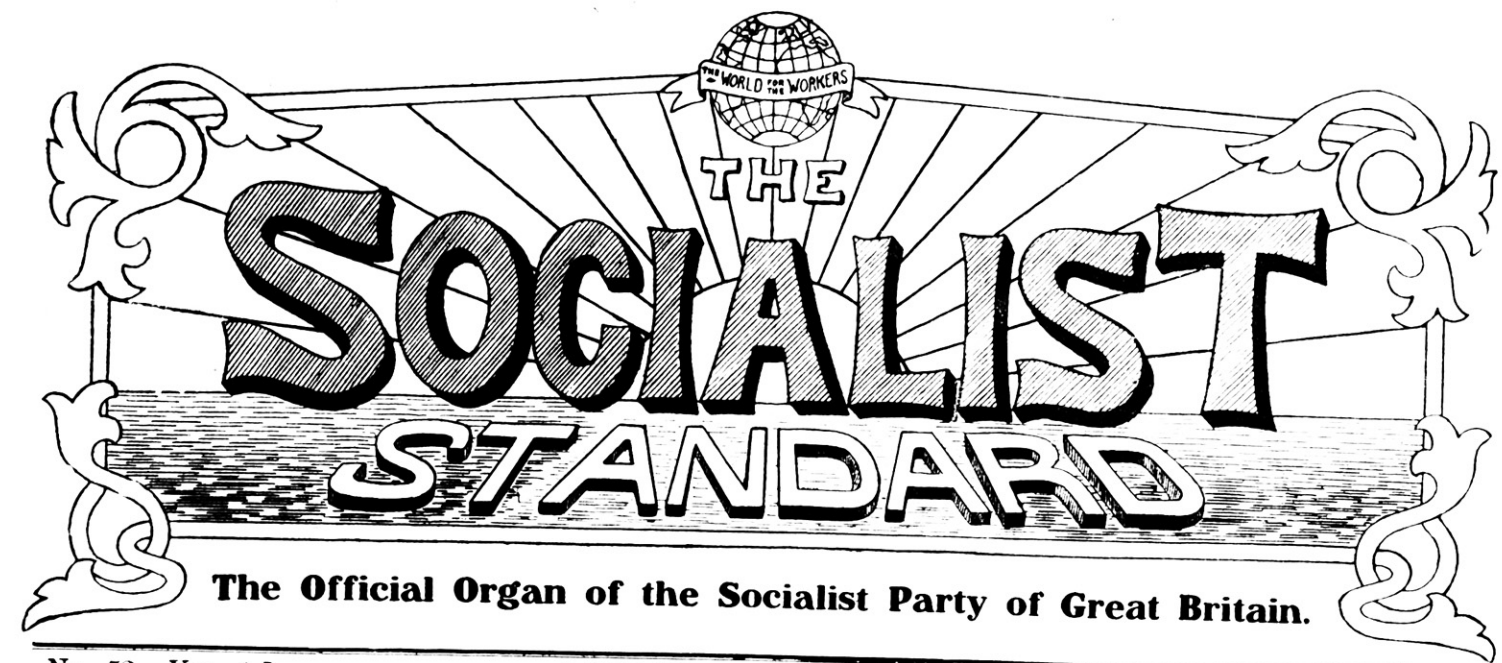
A. R. REGINALD

"29th—"Some Lessons from History"

F. C. WATTS

Dec. 6th—"Unemployment: Its Cause and Cure"

J. FITZGERALD



No. 52. Vol. 5.]

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1908.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE BREAD THAT PERISHES

AND THOSE WHO MAKE IT.

FAR back in the last century the Baker's Union was formed, and although it has never enjoyed the confidence of a majority of the men engaged in bread-making, or, with the single exception of the '89 agitation, has it contained more than a remnant within its ranks, yet probably 95 per cent. of the London bakers have been members at one time or another. They have entered its ranks, paid one or two quarters' subscription, then, generally through disgust with the internal management, have gone to swell the lapsed, and been lost. The remnant who remain in the union recognise it for what it really is—a provident society—though they do not all understand that, in the final analysis, it operates in the interests of the master class.

The capitalist, in permitting trades unions to have a legal status, demands that they shall serve him further than the mere friendly society. This is done by all trade unions guaranteeing that their members shall not strike spontaneously, thus giving the capitalist time to prepare himself for any eventuality. The bakers do even better. In every district they have a house of call, where the unemployed foregather and await the masters' convenience. As journeymen bakers invariably go in to work on Sunday evenings with curses on their lips, and as that is the time usually chosen to give the rack another twist, it sometimes happens that a spontaneous strike takes place. When this occurs the master rushes off to the nearest club house, where he can obtain all the men he wants. Thus trade unionists are always available to break the strike of non-union or union men. The most stoney-eyed can see how useful this is to the masters.

It is necessary for the officials of trade unions, in order to maintain their positions, to advertise themselves, and to prevent the dry rot of apathy among their followers putting a period to their existence as leaders, to invent at intervals a new slogan, such as the "All Grades Movement," "Abolition of Night Work," etc. The latter has been the rallying cry of the Bakers for several years past, and the pence diverted from the semi-starved wives and children of the operatives, have been spent in organising public meetings to force the bill for the abolition of night work and the limitation of the hours of labour through the Imperial Parliament, and also to pay the expenses of delegates to the House of Commons. These genuflected before Liberal, Lib-Lab and Lab-Lib M.P.s, humbly beseeching their help in pushing the "Charter of Emancipation" through. At the public meetings the men were assured by hired speakers that no compromise would be considered. The

*Like Pouring
Water
in a Sieve.*

damnable system of night work was to cease. The abominable slavery of 80 to 100 hours a week was to be kicked into the limbo of the past. Many arguments were advanced to show the sweet reasonableness of their "demands," the most nauseating being the cant of the "Christian Socialists." Everything was working up for the final onslaught, when, as invariably happens in trade union agitations, as the hour of deliverance was about to strike, there came the anti-climax. A cold douche quenched any hopes that might be still flickering in the breasts of the oft-deluded operatives in the form of a circular letter to the branches of the union.

*Dilly, Dilly,
Come
and be Killed.*

This letter ran as follows:—

Dear Sir and Brother,
I am directed by my Committee to ask your members to approve of the proposed alteration in the Eight Hours Bill.

We consider that the Bill stands an infinitely better chance of passing with the clause deleted and personally I believe that even if the Bill in its present form was to pass its second reading that particular clause would come out in committee. By deleting it we at once disarm three-fourths of the opposition to the measure which has hitherto been based largely upon the alleged impossibility (if the Bill were passed) of supplying the early morning roll and restaurant trade.

Factory bakery proprietors say, not without reason, that it would handicap them in competing with the small shops, and some of the larger shops object on the score of the very large amount of capital they would have to spend in building additional bake-houses.

Some of the Liberal M.P.s whom we recently interviewed expressed the opinion that as a matter of policy there is no doubt that it would be far and away the best to make the issue a clear and straight one of Long Hours v. Short Hours, and not to give the employers the opportunity of going off on a side-issue.

Of course, the districts which have day work would still be able to retain it by trade union action, and others might regain it by the same method.

Yours very truly,
LOUIS A. HALL.

29 May, 1908.

Can anyone conceive of a document drafted with a more tender solicitude for the welfare of the enemy, the capitalist wolves? It abandons the main position under cover of presenting a straight issue. The one clause that did stand a dog's chance of getting on to the statute book, and being enforced when there, was the night work clause, for the very cogent reason that an overwhelming case could be made out to prove that it is necessary in order to ensure that foodstuffs should be produced under wholesome conditions. Many bakers have collected ample materials to prove that bakeries, not only the catcomb bakeries, but some of the more mod-

ern factories, are centres for the propagation and dissemination of loathsome infections and contagious diseases, and that one of the two main causes of this state of affairs is the lowering of the vitality, and consequent disease among the operatives caused by night work and the long hours which are possible only under that system. That, and the question of wholesome ingredients, must be dealt with from a Socialist workman's point of view. When I have leisure, and as I am fast approaching the "scrapping age," it shall be done. Once get the howling pack of Christian profit-hunters, who shriek anathemas at Leopold the Amorous from our garden city suburbs for the atrocities perpetrated in the collection of "red rubber" on the Congo, and who view with callous indifference the cruel slaughter of their compatriots in the production of white bread, to realise that this system re-acts against their material interests, the only chord to which they respond, that these flagrant outrages against the laws of Nature spell for them, too, impaired health, disease, and its consequent loss of treasure, and your precious reform is accomplished, nay, is forced on you, willy-nilly, and you would not be consulted on the matter.*

As regards the straight issue, Long v. Short Hours, the veriest political tyro knows the powerful interests which oppose the principle of limiting men's labour by legal enactment, knows that the bell wethers of the miners, those "gaseous vertebrates," called labour leaders, cannot lead their followers to victory. Miners number many more thousands than bakers do tens, are splendidly organised from a trade union point of view, and have been "demanding" the eight hours' day for twenty-five years. If the miners are in such a parlous state what chance do the poor bakers stand, except by frightening the capitalist parties through their stomachs?

The peremptory stoppage of night work would automatically curtail the hours of labour, as is well known to the masters' spokesmen. If a man started work at 6 a.m. and wrought till midnight he would only then have completed an eighteen hours' day, whereas it is not uncommon for a baker to see the clock round twice at the week-end. Every baker knows that it breaks a master's heart to see his men go home at ten o'clock in the morning, after having done twelve hours

*Since this was written Mr. Haldane has said, Lady-bank, Sept. 26) that the Government "had to deal with the prevention of diseases among the poor, in the interest not merely of the individual, but of the State."

*Putting Their
Faith
in the Enemy.*

*Absurdity can
go
No Further.*

*Twenty-Four Hour
Day
Not Sufficient.*

slogging. The day is at its busiest, and under a score of pretexts first one hour then another is added to the night's work until one night is driven into the next, and the baker is robbed of all that makes life endurable. He comes out late in the day completely exhausted, his eyes are dazzled by the daylight; and if he takes one "half ale" he is fuddled, two and he is "blindo." The nasty, drunken beast!

The last sentence in Mr. Hill's letter is comic in view of the position of the cotton operatives, the awful plight of the railway men, and the utter rout of "the most powerful and the most perfect type of trade union in the world," the engineers. The fact is the bakers can obtain nothing by trade union organisation, nor could they if 95 per cent. were organised. Their position has gradually become worse, their skill is fast becoming needless, they are being reduced to the status of the unskilled labourers, who can, and are, taking their places as machine tenders. They are a diminishing number, owing to the introduction of machinery doubling and redoubling the output per man in what is a limited trade, and while their nominal wages have risen slightly, their real wages have gone down considerably, for they have lost their allowance of bread and flour, sack money (which at one time amounted to several shillings weekly), yeast money, millers' Xmas boxes, and other extras, and by mid-week many of them are "broke to the world," as they phrase it—yet they never spend any money. Their jobs are more precarious, and they are "scrapped" at an earlier age as regular hands and become jobbers—especially now they are so inconsiderate as to lie down and die in the bake-house, or drop down in the street as they wend homeward.

No reform or series of reforms can touch that position. No trade union can act even as a brake to steady the downward rush. As the years roll by capital gets more aggressive, more relentless and its engines of death act with more deadly precision. The trade union is a spent force: capital can no longer be fought with the velvet glove. The only effective means is an economic revolution. The issue has too long been obscured by the thousands of tricky liars who prostitute their talents for grub. None have done it so effectively, or so cheaply to the capitalist, as those who have posed as labour leaders and dissipated the energies of the working class by focussing their attention on this or that trumpery reform that does not matter, while pumping an income from the stomachs of the starving women and children of the proletariat. Signs are manifold that their baneful influence is at last waning. We are now face to face with the fact that the class ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth, in the final analysis, spells not "race suicide," but *race murder*. There is no other name for it. There is no social problem to the Socialist. He has the key to the situation. He alone recognises with joy that society is in the melting-pot of the Social Revolution, and that the issue will be—must be—Socialism or annihilation.

J. SMITH.

THE "SPECTATOR" ON "COURAGE."

The *Spectator* has eulogised Burns of Battersea mainly because he has had the real but unusual courage to do those things that a man might not be expected to do from his previous record. Titus Oates and Judas Iscariot were possessed of the same heroic quality. The parallel between Burns and Judas may, indeed, be pursued to greater length. Both sold themselves for a price. That Burns was able to demand a higher fee and get it shows that the market value of Burns was greater than the market value of Judas—that Burns was worth more to his purchasers than Judas to his. But then Judas, as if anticipating that competitors would arise to challenge his claim to the highest niche in the temple of Spectatorial courage, enormously strengthened his position by going out and hanging himself. When Burns has the courage to follow so excellent an example, he may be sure that the verdict of history, as well as of his friends, will be unqualified and enthusiastic approval of the thing above all others that he was not expected to do from his previous record.

DYNAMITE.

WAS GOING TO SMASH SOCIALISM.

At a sitting, before Mr. Registrar Brougham, for the public examination of E. W. Mockler, of Hungerford Road, Holloway, works manager, it appeared that he had interested himself in politics, and that about June, 1907, he became treasurer of the Constitutional Speakers' League, which was to send vans round the country and supply speakers at meetings to be held on the subject of tariff reform. In respect of that league the debtor stated that he had personally incurred sundry liabilities, and he estimated that, including money advanced to the chairman (about £300 now appearing as a bad debt) and other expenses, he had lost about £750 in connection therewith. The horses and vans were eventually seized and sold for the payment of keep and storage. To his losses and liabilities on behalf of the league the debtor attributed his failure.—"Morning Advertiser," 7.11.08.

LETTING THE CAT OUT.

Sir,—I beg to assure you that there is nothing of revolt against the Government in my letter stating I would not again contest Walworth. I wish to give the Prime Minister, Mr. Burns, and Mr. Haldane every support. What I do revolt against is any pandering to Socialism by less experienced and less wise Ministers, and entirely because their doing so helps reaction and blocks the way of the urgent reforms to which I am pledged. REFORM AND SOCIALISM ARE LIKE WATER AND FIRE—MUTUALLY DESTRUCTIVE.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
C. J. O'DONNELL.
House of Commons, Oct. 26.
—"Standard."

HOW ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

When you go back to the early years of the nineteenth century, and read the accounts of children's sufferings due to the cruelty of slave-drivers, your hearts are apt to cry out in anguish. Just think of today. Think of today in these great United States, children five and six years old, working from six in the morning until six in the evening, and at the hardest and most trying kind of labour. These children are being ruined by thousands by the manufacturers. It is killing the whole white race of the South.

It may be surprising, but it is the absolute truth, that things just as bad are going on right here in New York City. Child slavery thrives here in greater proportion than in the South.

There are parts of this city where little children are driven to work early in the morning for two hours and then sent to our American schools, and after school are forced into sweat-shops, where they are obliged to work from three in the afternoon until eleven o'clock at night.—William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of New York City.

—"St. Louis Labour," Oct. 17, 1908.

Who said "Tariff Reform"?

CANDOR.

Asked at a mass meeting last January, "What do you advise a conscientious working man to do who is out of a job and whose family is starving because he can't get work?" Mr. Taft, who weighs over twenty stone, flung his hands above his head in a gesture of despair as he answered, "God knows, I don't."

That pregnant ejaculation has travelled from New York to San Francisco and its echo has been heard from New Orleans to Minnesota. It is characteristic of its author—as honest an American as the United States ever produced.

—"Star," 3.11.08.

For the first time a mountain in travail has brought forth something that may pass for the truth. Taft may know God knows what a starving man should do, but certainly Taft, the capitalist doesn't.

WHAT DO THEY KNOW?

Much amusement was caused in the Lobby of the House of Commons last night by the circulation of a portrait in a New York newspaper. The words underneath were "England's Bul-

wark Against Socialism—Mr. John Burns," but the portrait, by some mischance, was that of Mr. Keir Hardie.

—"Daily Mail," Guy Fawkes Day.

No one, surely, can be so unkind to John Burns as his friends.

"Mr. Burns has seen one relevant fact of great importance. He has realised that if municipalities distribute their work with more regularity over the year and give out as much of it as possible during the winter months a good deal of unemployment can be prevented, and for some of it a resource will always be available."

—"Daily News," 26.10.08.

How can unemployment be affected by starving men in summer to feed them in winter?

We do get the truth, sometimes.

"The pretence that the existing distress is merely a transient phase due to financial disturbance in the United States and so forth is absurd."—"Standard," 26.10.08.

This is interesting.

"One remedy for unemployment would be to double the wages of every working man. If that could be done to-morrow the spending power of the people would be doubled, and work would be provided for every man and woman in Great Britain in providing for their needs."—(Keir Hardie at Merthyr, 24.10.08.)

It is as difficult to mitigate unemployment by doubling wages as it would be to remove unemployment by abolishing wages.

What d'ye say, Henderson? What's the good of it if it don't find work for every child as well?

Oh! these "Socialists." Here is another specimen. Author, Philip Snowden.

"He wanted to assure all temperance workers of his sympathy and of the sympathy of his colleagues, who were working in other fields of reform—reforms which were no less temperance reforms. . . . As one who deeply appreciates the very great injury and the very great obstacle which the drinking habits of the people present to the progress of every movement of a social reform character, I want to assure you that we are heart and soul with you, and we wish you God-speed. . . . In connection with the Trade Unions Congress there was always held a temperance fellowship meeting. Mr. Steadman, M.P., the secretary, had told him that he could remember the time when a temperance resolution was struck out of the agenda on the ground that temperance had nothing to do with labour."

"There was at the present moment another question besides that of temperance touching the hearts of the people—the widespread suffering and privation from want of employment."—"Manchester Guardian," 10.10.08.)

The quotations are quite in their proper order. Observe the great question of "temperance reform" comes first, then the secondary matter of "unemployment," while as for Socialism, that seems to have been "struck out of the agenda on the ground that it has nothing to do with labour."

PUT IN THE SICKLES.

Now the kings grow lean as they sit,
The people grow strong to stand;
The men they trod on and spat,
The dumb, dread people that sat
As corpses cast in a pit

Rise up with God on their hand,
And thrones are hurled in a heap,
And strong men, sons of the land
Put in the sickles and reap!

The dumb, dread people that sat
All night without screen for the night,
All day without food for the day,
They shall not give their harvest away,
They shall eat of the fruit and wax fat,
They shall see the desire of their sight,
Though the ways of the seasons be steep,
They shall climb with face to the light,
Put in the sickles and reap.

—SWINBURNE.

KEIR HARDIE IN CANADA.

The *Western Clarion* (of British Columbia) and many of its readers seem to be under no delusions either as to the sort of job Keir Hardie was attempting to manage during his recent visit in that part of the Empire which we call "ours," or of the possibilities of the job, assuming it could be accomplished. We reproduce the three extracts which follow with thanks.

"Keir Hardie, we are told, is to attend the Trades Congress at Halifax, for the special purpose of bringing together the forces of Socialism and Trades Unionism as they have been brought together in the Old Country."

"We are very much afraid that neither the Socialists nor the Trades Unions will bite. The proposition is just a little too raw. Stripped of all wordy ornament it just amounts to this: That the Socialists shall put their hands in the Trade Union's pocket and their principles in their own."—LEADING ARTICLE.

"So Keir Hardie is coming to Canada on a special mission of inducing the Socialist Party and the Independent Labourites to get together for united political action. Well, he has undertaken a contract that all the King's horses and all the King's men couldn't accomplish. He is attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable. That he should think of such a thing shows how little he knows of the uncompromising revolutionary spirit of the Socialists of British Columbia and Ontario. He is barking up the wrong tree, and displays the fatal spirit of compromise which is the weak spot in the Anglo-Saxon character, and has done more than anything else to retard the growth of genuine Socialism in England—and in fact among English-speaking people generally."

"There is and can be no common ground between the Socialist whose end and aim is the abolition of wage slavery and the ownership by the workers of the machinery of production and distribution, and the man who simply wants to effect a few ameliorations of the lot of the wage slave. The Socialist recognises that at this stage of the game the all-essential thing to be done is to educate the workers to want and insist upon Socialism as the only permanent and effective remedy and uses elections simply as a means of propaganda. He wants first and foremost to make Socialists. The Independent Labour man merely wants to make votes. The Socialist knows that votes are no good unless there are clear-cut convictions behind them. The Independent Labour man expects to carry everything with a hurrah! and when his candidate comes in among the "also rans" is apt to get cold feet. The Socialist knows that all that can be done at present is to lay foundations, and wants to lay them good and strong on the bed-rock of scientific truth. The other fellow wants to win the election any old way and get something right here and now. The Socialist knows that a desperate, long-seated disease can't be cured suddenly by any quick remedy, and will only yield to a long course of treatment. The Independent Labour man ignores the root of the disease and wants to doctor the symptoms."—PHILIP THOMSON.

"Keir Hardie, M.P., with his wife and daughter, has been visiting Toronto this week and the capitalist Press has been full of his doings. I'll content myself with reporting a meeting I had with him a year ago. After the usual preliminaries I enquired: 'Comrade Hardie, I'd like to know your position on the class struggle.'

"'There is no class struggle,' he replied, following this up with a denunciation of the 'foolish' tactics followed by the Socialist Party of Canada."

"Having had some experience in publishing Labour and Socialist papers, I know it's difficult at that game to get enough to buy a decent meal ticket, let alone tour the world with a family. Knowing, too, that a man won't grow rich on the salary paid a British M.P. or out of the contributions to M.P.'s by the union men, it puzzles me to figure out how Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie, Victor Grayson and such men

manage to finance these globe-trotting expeditions. If any comrade can enlighten me I'll promise to send the suggestion on to the Dominion executive so that if the game is straight the path of the next organiser sent out to our Canada for our Party will be made a little more easy than this summer's trip by the 'Old Man.' G. W. WREGLAY."

PARTY PARS.

Two new branches have been formed during November. At Nottingham and at Stoke Newington. Socialists in either place are invited to communicate with the respective secretaries, for whose addresses see Branch Directory on the last page.

The Burnley Branch are still on the war-path. They journeyed one Sunday to Accrington, where the S.D.P. were demonstrating. The latter wanted questions: when they got them from the S.P.G.B. they wanted to apply the closure. The audience preferred to hear questions answered, but were nevertheless disappointed. Is there any answer to the S.P.G.B.?

During the period since the issue of the November number, the Delegate Meeting has been held, and for the first time since the formation of the Party, extended into a second day.

A correspondent writes from Durham enquiring for Socialists in the district. He has searched the I.L.P. and other organisations and not found one yet. We are not surprised—the I.L.P. is among the least likely places to find them.

After the disappointment of the Watford Branch in E. E. Hunter, S.D.P., slipping off the hook just when they had nearly landed him in a debate, they have succeeded in fixing up Councillor Gorle, S.D.P., to debate with our representative. He chose the subject of debate, which is peculiar: "That the S.P.G.B. is not the only Socialist party in this country, and that it is delaying the Social Revolution." By the time this appears in print the debate will be a matter of history, but it gives one pause how a Socialist party can delay that, the achievement of which constitutes itself. Perhaps it is another sample of the notorious S.D.P. "mixed thinking."

Battersea have had a side slip. Carmichael, as blatant as ever, challenged our representative from the S.D.P. platform to debate the proposition "that the S.P.G.B. is not worthy the support of the working-class." This was accepted from Carmichael as representing the S.D.P., but when negotiations were getting interesting he discovered that the matter was not one of public interest, and should be discussed only "before members of Socialist organisations." And this objection being over-ridden, agreed to debate if the S.D.P. were not mentioned! A remarkable instance of the length that can be reached by ingenious casuistry.

Someone at Tottenham—a local aspirant to municipal honours—accepted a challenge to debate, and took care to impose conditions which could not possibly be tolerated, viz., that he should choose who should or should not be our representative. This proved another disappointment.

Awhile ago the S.D.P. were holding a meeting at Stoke Newington, and in the course of the discussion the speaker informed a member of our Party not to interrupt their meeting but to go to some other corner and hold a meeting of our own, or to go to Tottenham and expose the S.D.P.! We did both. Taking advantage of his admission that the S.D.P. could be exposed, and, going to Anlaby Road, Stoke Newington at the first opportunity, held a meeting. The result is announced in the of these first Party Pars.

D. K.

WHAT WE ARE AFTER.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has for its OBJECT—

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Obviously the present social system is not so based. Its characteristics, class division and antagonism, riches and poverty, overwork and idleness, its law, public institutions and mentality, arise from and have their basis in the ownership and control of these means and instruments by a small part of society—the members of the capitalist class. Our wealthy mentors and their Press and platform hirelings admit as much when they tell us that if we abolish the "sacred rights of property" the whole social fabric will totter to the ground, even though they conclude with the gratuitous assumption that "anarchy and chaos" will follow.

So that there may be no mistake, let us at once state which are the means and instruments of wealth production and distribution that Socialism demands shall be owned in common and controlled democratically. They are those which are essential to the community's well-being—those which it is worth the people's while to acquire, hold and administer; which, as private property, enable their owners to get rent, profit or interest—those things, in short, which enable their possessors to exploit the workers. Thus the carpenter's favourite plane, the wife's knitting needles and a host of other odds and ends that deluded opponents of Socialism love to quibble over are excluded. The means of production and distribution that count, that are indispensable and worth going after, are, broadly speaking, the land, factories, warehouses, machinery, ships and railways.

Given, then, such a fundamental change in the basis of society as will be the social control of industry, in place of the existing private control, and tremendous changes must inevitably follow in the whole social superstructure. The capitalist-landlord class, deprived of its unearned incomes, will either have to come and do its quota of necessary labour like the rest of us, or accept the alternative it offers us workers—starvation. The census of 1901 shows that there were then 663,656 adult men who did not even profess to have any occupation. These "gentlemen" together with their numerous female dependents, and the myriads of domestic servants who pander to their luxury, constitute a potential supply of labour power which, when applied, will help to vastly increase the supply of goods and services available to the community. The thousands of clerks to-day employed in bookkeeping profits will, with the abolition of the profits system, be set free for work of social utility. The same applies to the innumerable agents, commercial travellers, advertisers, printers, redundant shopkeepers and assistants.

There being no longer an enslaved class to keep in subjection and no longer any need to forcibly hold markets or protect capitalist investments abroad, the stupendous amount of energy now wasted in the maintenance of armies and navies will become available for the satisfaction of society's needs.

Thus at a stroke the establishment of the Socialist Republic involves an immense increase in the productive powers of the community, and consequently of the possibilities of enjoyment and of leisure; and further, the abolition of war and vice-breeding, parasitic idleness. The security of well-rewarded, brief labour would spread over the land a happy and bony people.

The condition that necessarily follows from the attainment of the OBJECT of the S.P.G.B. is then, seen to be infinitely preferable to the conditions at present obtaining, at least from the workers' standpoint.

The product of industry now divided into a small part wages and a large part profits will then remain entirely with and at the disposal of the industrious. Then invention and more economical methods will not, as now, spell unemployment and misery, but greater comfort

(Completed on back page.)

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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TUESDAY, DEC. 1, 1908.

Marx and Hardie.

In the *Labour Leader*, October 23rd, 1908, under the title "Is there to be discord?" Mr. J. Keir Hardie makes a lengthy endeavour to justify the position of the Labour Party in its relation to Socialism. His criticism of the S.D.P. attitude as representing an altogether needless sect is plainly correct, as that body, while holding aloof from the Labour Party nationally, allows its members to work with the Labour Party locally. If the Labour Party is to be considered as an opponent nationally, surely it is equally so locally. To us there appears no reason whatever for thus attempting to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, except either an altogether mistaken notion of Socialist tactics, or an endeavour to play the political game.

But Mr. Hardie, in building his case for the Labour Party, invokes the blessing of Marx, Engels and Liebknecht, and for that purpose quotes two or three sentences from a letter Marx is said to have written in 1871. The rest of the letter is excluded on the plea that it would occupy too much space. Yet one column on the leader page is occupied in announcing and repeating Hardie's statements, and could easily have been dispensed with to make room for the whole letter; and if one column was not sufficient, a whole page could have been made available by omitting the advertisements of soothing syrup, ointment, pills, boot polish, etc., with which pages are filled. As it is the quotation is by no means satisfactory, and cannot be made to bear the construction Hardie labours to put upon it. As he himself says, "Marx's great point was the organisation of the working class as a separate political party, apart and distinct from all other political parties." Despite his assertion, Marx's great point is emphatically not met by the Labour Party, which is, as we have demonstrated time and time again, a wing of the capitalist Liberal Party, and has its present footing in the "House" only with the consent of that party. Although political prophecy is a dangerous pastime, it is safe to say that the Labour Party will go out on the ebb of the Liberal tide that carried it in.

That portion of the quotation referring to sects which Hardie throws at us is equally inapplicable. "When the working class becomes ripe (for an independent historical movement) all sects are essentially retrograde." The whole point is, therefore, whether the working class is yet ripe, or in other words, whether the working class is yet Socialist. There can be no two opinions about it; indeed, it is not a matter of opinion, but one of fact. The working class has to be converted to Socialism, and when that has been accomplished, the movement necessarily set up precludes the possibility of sectional differences so far as the course of action is concerned. The present trouble, the exacerbation of which has called forth the pronouncement which forms the subject of this note, arises from the fact that the workers are not Socialist and

cannot be driven or led or otherwise persuaded to take a line of action in accordance with the wishes of Hardie & Co. The fact that Hardie & Co.'s line of action is not the Socialist one is not the point for the present. It is not good enough for Hardie to put the thermometer in the furnace and then persuade himself that it registers the temperature outside.

The independent movement of the working class for its emancipation, admittedly necessarily Socialist, must be the work of a Socialist party, and the Labour Party is not the Socialist Party. Hardie has already explained that the I.L.P., as a political party, has completely sunk its identity in the Labour Party, so that it is with the latter alone that we have to deal.

The Socialist party has first of all, therefore, to convert the working class—has, in a word, to be a propagandist body. During its work as a proselytising force it is bound to take political action. The question which constitutes the rock of offence is whether that political action shall be merely an item in the general work of propaganda, or whether it will play down to the unconverted to win. The I.L.P., the S.D.P., and every other political party outside the S.P.G.B., has chosen the latter course, and thereby ceased to be Socialist propagandists—fallen out of the Socialist movement. That they stole the Socialist thunder, used the enthusiasm of the rank and file, and prostituted the name and the cause of Socialism does not matter—they won. But the cost of their election is the hindering of the development of class consciousness and the hampering of the work of the Socialist movement. The greatest set-back, the most powerful opponent Socialism can possibly have, is, as Liebknecht has said, the man who comes into our ranks as a friend and a comrade and betrays us.

The Personal Service Committee.

Once again the axiom is illustrated that the master class will do anything for the workers—except get off their backs. The newest illustration is the attempt at promotion, by personal visitation, of "friendship" between rich and poor in an endeavour to soften the increasingly apparent antagonism between those who live by robbery and the victims. This "Personal Service" committee includes representatives of the families of Asquith, Balfour, Gladstone, Cadbury and Lytton, while Lords Norfolk, Salisbury, and Wolverhampton are of the number, together with Mr. Arthur Henderson, leader of the Labour Party, who once again may be known by the company he keeps.

In their letter of appeal the committee say that if a sufficient number come forward "many families in poor circumstances might be tided over the coming winter, who, if left to themselves would inevitably fall below the poverty line." But they also say in the course of the same appeal that the cases for visitation will be selected through the Charity Organisation Society and the Unemployed Distress Committees, and this practically guarantees that all those dealt with shall be already far below the poverty line; so that the committee's statement in this respect is simple a piece of unctuous humbug.

In the *Daily Mail* H. Hamilton Fyfe warmly praises the idea, and attempts, with little success, to make a distinction between the new scheme and the old insulting district visitors' coal-ticket distribution. He further accuses the "working classes" of inelasticity, unadaptability, and "ignorance or mistrust of the little things that make all the difference to life," and suggests that "most of those who come off badly in the struggle for existence are lacking either in bodily strength or in mental equipment." The workers, forsooth, are poor because they are inferior in bodily strength or in mental equipment to the parasites that social conditions compel them to keep in luxury! And the worker, able and willing to supply his needs by his labour, but denied the opportunity by the profit system, is to be advised and lectured on his unadaptability and ignorance by useless, jewelled parasites who owe their wealth and position to the fortune of birth and class rule, and who know nothing of working conditions, being totally incapable of supplying their own needs, or even of dressing themselves in many cases! One can imagine the sullen rage that must rise within the intelligent but impoverished worker under

the torture of such stupid advice and degrading charity from the class that lives by his robbery.

Indeed, if the truly terrible distress from which the working class are now suffering were the result of what is usually called a natural calamity, such as an earthquake, there might be some excuse for such a movement. But the distress of unemployment is not a "natural calamity" in that sense; it is a preventable disease. Moreover, the names of the Personal Service Committee are emphatically representative of those who have, in the interests of the master class, set themselves determinedly against the only possible remedy, and have championed the system of robbery that manufactures the unemployed and their distress. They stand, indeed, for those who decline to do even that which is within their power toward ending the possibility of this preventable and unmerited misery. Such an appeal as that of the committee, therefore, can in plain English, only be characterised as demagogic hypocrisy.

Not being prepared to be just, some of the master class profess a willingness to be charitable. Feeling that there is danger to their profits and their security in the growing feeling of hostility between rich and poor, they make a pretence of friendship, endeavouring to tranquillise their victims and prevent them taking steps that may endanger the position of the capitalist class. It is not love, but fear, that makes the ruling class loosen its purse strings, as experience has repeatedly shown. And the dainty, jewelled dames who may soon find a hobby in insulting visits, stupid advice and priggish charity, would readily, as has happened in the past, applaud police and soldiery in their brutal batonning and slaughter of the workers the moment the latter, driven to desperation, took their fate into their own hands. The name of Asquith would once again find congenial association; and charity and humbug, having failed in their purpose, would be cast aside by the master class in favour of a frank reliance on coercion by means of the armed forces of the nation. There can, indeed, be no conciliation in the great class antagonism. All pretence at friendship between the two armies in the modern struggle is sheer hypocrisy. This we know, and all history is its confirmation, that the working class, in the ending of their misery, must rely, first and last, upon themselves.

Out-Heroding Herod.

After the little scene in the "House" on Nov. 12, it can hardly be argued that the workers have gained even a more sympathetic administration of capitalism by the advent of the workman Cabinet Minister. After Mr. Asquith, who has no reputation for kindness toward the workers, had promised the removal of certain restrictions in the dispensation of relief, the L.G.B. order, instead of instructing such removal, made it a voluntary action by the authority. Taxed with this in the "House," Mr. Burns replied that he had adopted the best way of carrying out the Prime Minister's promise. Mr. Asquith, however, disagreed, and the order is to be replaced by one incorporating the removal of the disability of having received Poor Law Relief within a specified time. Mr. Burns had better be careful. Already dissatisfaction is being expressed in high Liberal circles owing to his not playing the game carefully enough, and if he assumes a callous, unsympathetic attitude toward an unemployed problem which compels even the Premier to affect commiseration, he will have to give place to one who will smile and frown with his master, and shed tears to order. A few more examples like that under notice will blow the gaff on Liberal hypocrisy completely. Burns' special function in the Cabinet was to conciliate working class demands for independent representation and to show that the Liberal Party was so concerned to have the voice of labour in its counsels as to obviate the necessity for separate representation.

To realise that the "short, square built man in the straw hat" who talked himself hoarse on behalf of the dockers in 1889 and the man who is out-Heroding Herod in the cruel, callous administration of relief to the unfortunate of capitalism are the same John Burns is difficult, and shows how complete a control over their representatives must the workers exercise before their convictions can be made to prevail.

WHY THE UNEMPLOYED ARE NECESSARY UNDER CAPITALISM.

BEYOND doubt the problem of unemployment is beginning to assume a new aspect. Hitherto a regrettable, but quite incidental, visitation of Providence, a working-class concern (as had trade has been to do with the master class), a temporary inconvenience, our rulers have said, not entirely beyond the ameliorative touch of Private Charity, the problem is now developing a new visage.

There is an ugly gleam in its eye, an all-devouring menace in its bestial mouth. No longer can the capitalists pretend that Private Charity is

The Incubus of the Out-o'-Work.

able to deal with the situation—it has been like a bee lending its honey to the support of a hungry elephant. It is so short a while since the dread shape was rampant over the land, and now it rises again, with added stature, with renewed rage and redoubled vigour. But the disquieting thing is that during the interim the shape has never for a moment been banished. Our lords and gentlemen and honorable boards, our masters and pastors and those set in authority over us, our organisers of production and captains of industry, all took it for a ghost, and tried to "lay" the ghost each in his own way. And alike for those who took it to the Lord in prayer, and those who passed measures in the legislature, and those who offered propitiation out of the lean purse of Private Charity, and those who accepted the Miltonian dictum that "they also serve who only stand and wait," the shape unobliquely refused to be "laid." The thing has not righted itself, even temporarily.

A strengthening suspicion is spreading over the minds of the master class that when the thing does right itself, it will do so in a way distinctly unpleasant to them. It dawns upon them that this thing which they with complaisance regarded as a cross the workers had to bear, threatens more and worse against the rulers than the ruled. The idea takes shape that this nightmare is the product of their own operations, the inevitable and ominous companion of capitalist production, and they go in mortal fear that, sooner or later, it must overwhelm them.

Hence there are signs that every cheap expedient is to be used in the endeavour to stave off

The Policy of Sop Throwing.

the flood of destruction which threatens to burst from this heaped up and increasing mass of humanity so completely cut off from the means of life. And are these efforts to succeed? Let us enquire into the nature of the problem.

It is not the mere fact that so many men are idle that constitutes the serious feature of the problem. It may be no unmixed blessing to have this army of workless workers kicking their heels together, especially when the devil begins to apply his solution by finding work for their idle hands to do, but it is nowhere suggested that any other consideration can compare with the fact that the unemployed lack the necessities of life—they starve in their great numbers, and those greater numbers dependent upon them starve in company. The real problem is, therefore, not to provide work for the unemployed, but to furnish them with the means of subsistence. It is a misnomer to call it an unemployed problem—it is a starvation problem.

The solution of the starvation problem has been left to Private Charity: she has failed. They say the goddess has a slender purse, and we know that is true. Let us then suppose Private Charity's purse as broad and deep and illimitable as her heart is said to be, that out of her bottomless resources and melting pity she could and did give to repletion to all directly or indirectly suffering from the effects of unemployment, what then would happen?

Alas for her peace of mind, our masters never tire of telling us what would happen. "Human nature," they say, "would assert itself. It is not human nature to engage in uncongenial toil save

The Awful Indolence of Man.

under pressure. Remove the pressure of want from the unemployed and at once you have an army of 'won't works.'" Private Charity consents to the judgment, as must you and I.

There is no doubt about it, man does not sell his labour-power, and with it necessarily his

liberty, for fun. To be unemployed is no terrible hardship in the absence of the poverty which accompanies working-class unemployment. Believe us of the coercive force of the empty stomach, the shameless impertinence of the landlord, and so on, and, frankly, we would not worry about work—our human nature is not so different from that of our betters that we need blush to confess that. And then what would happen?

What would happen, my friends, in this impossible case, is just this. Those in employment, finding themselves relieved of the competition of the workless (we will leave out of consideration the fact that their "human nature" would impel them to become workless, too, upon such terms), would begin to cast about them for some means of improving their condition. As it is true, as our masters tell us, that the workers would not sell themselves to toil unless they were forced to, it follows that they would oppose a more effective resistance to the weakened coercion. They would demand a higher price for their labour-power, either through increased wages or a shorter working day, or both.

We are taking here the extreme case, in which the labour market is entirely and effectually relieved of the pressure of the unemployed—whether by provision of work or of direct sustenance does not matter one iota. Theoretically, the worker, being without a competitor, would have things all his own way. Wages, being a price, must rise by leaps and bounds, as all prices do in the absence of competitors. And as, mind you, wages are that portion of the total value created which is enjoyed by those who create it, it follows that a rise in wages results (other things remaining constant) in a decrease of the portion of value left to those who do not create it.

Now mark the effect. Capitalist demand for labour-power is excited only by the desire for that portion of the value created which remains after that labour-power is paid for, and will therefore be in proportion to the relative amount of that surplus-value. Just as the removal of the unemployed from the labour market has torn from the employing class the power of resisting the demands of the working class, so now the diminished profits react against the worker by lessening the demand for labour-power which the desire for profit alone creates. Those concerns which have been run at the lowest profit, immediately cease to show any at all, and are shut down, and Private Charity has other horrors to comfort at her eleemosynary bosom. Solomon gurgled of "breasts like towers," but she needs breasts like oceans for the job she has taken on, must wear thin and thinner with the calls upon her system, and after all her sacrifice will prove unavailing, for wages, rising to the point of extinguishing all profit, has extinguished with it the capitalists' desire to engage their factories

No Profit, No Production.

and machinery in the process of wealth production. Here is a deadlock. The solution of the unemployed problem by sustaining the workless has resulted in the raising of wages, the absorption of profit, and, as a necessary corollary, the cessation of production. From which it appears that idleness has its dignity, no less than labour, since the unemployed are necessary to capitalist production, and that it is true indeed that "they also serve who only stand and wait."

But capitalist sophism tells us that other things do not remain constant—which, of course, is true enough. We are told that a rise in wages is followed by a rise in prices, but this is presuming too much upon our ignorance. The workers create all value, whether it take the shape of golden sovereigns, leaves of bread, stained glass angels, or what not. If then the price of leaves went up alone the sovereign would buy fewer than before; but if the price of gold rose proportionately, the relative positions of the two remain the same. But all prices are to go up, since all commodities are the result of wage labour and all wages are to rise. The result is that none of their relative positions have changed. The sovereign still buys as many leaves before, as many Manifestoes or Socialist Standards. There has then been no rise in prices, though, since our ingenious mas-

ters always except one commodity (labour power) from the added price-stature, they manage to indicate a fall in wages—which is all they want to do. But, with no unemployed "standing and waiting," the working class would hold the whip hand. And all this is apart from the fact that prices of commodities do not bear relation to the cost of the labour power consumed in their production, but to the amount of necessary labour embodied in them.

Again other things do not remain constant. We have been considering an extreme case, where

Machinery creates its own Unemployed.

production has ceased because profit has ceased, and all because there were no unemployed to keep down wages. It is clear then, that if production is to continue, is must either do so under conditions in which its operation is not dependent upon profits, or the unemployed must be again brought into being to force down wages and allow profit to reappear.

The system makes beautiful provision for this by the law of the development of machinery. In practically every trade there exists machinery and methods in partial use far in advance of that generally employed—indeed, all through the industrial world there are degrees of perfection or imperfection in the means of production, tending away into antiquity so distant as can just be run at sufficient profit to save them from extinction. In each degree of development there is a fringe where it is a question if better machinery could not be more profitably adopted. Any raising of wages at once decides the question. At all times machinery is the competitor of labour-power. To increase the price of the latter is merely to hasten its displacement by the former. In the printing world the Linotype composing machine is an accomplished fact. It is not that the machine would have to be invented—it is there, doing the work of several men under the hands of one. The only question is the diameter of the circle of its profitable application, and this, of course, is a matter of competition with the hand compositor. If the wages of the latter go up, there is a corresponding advantage on the side of the machine, an enlargement in the

An Automatic Adjustment (not patented).

circle of its employment, and an addition to the unemployed army to beat down wages again. It may be said that the machine operator's wages rise also, but that is only one man's wages against several displaced by the machine. It may also be objected that the cost of the machine is raised since higher wages must be paid for its construction, but that funds us again in the impossible position of witnessing an all-round rise in prices, and runs counter to the economic verity that prices averaged by rises and falls cancelling one another, express, not the amount of wages consumed in producing the commodities, but the necessary labour embodied in them.

The fact is that every advance in wages reacts upon machinery and methods, pronouncing the doom of those requiring most labour-power to operate them, throwing men out of work, and so creating that army of unemployed which is necessary to the continuance of production so long as production is carried on for profit.

The position may be summed up as follows. As under present conditions all commodities are produced for profit, production must cease with the cessation of profit. As profit and wages between them constitute and have their only source in the value created by the worker, profit can only appear while wages are prevented from consuming the whole product of labour. As wages, the price of labour power, are regulated by the relation of supply and demand, a surplus of labour power, the unemployed, is necessary to prevent wages swallowing up all profit. Therefore the unemployed army is a vital necessity

The Logic of the Revolutionary Proposal.

to capitalist production, and there can be no solution under capitalism.

As wages are regulated by the relation of supply to demand of that labour power which it is the price of, any diminution of the surplus (unemployed) labour-power is attended by a rise in wages. As machinery is the competitor of labour-

power, any rise in the price of labour-power induces its displacement by machinery, which thus creates in perpetuity the out-of-work army. Therefore there can be no partial solution to the unemployed problem under capitalism.

As profit is the only incentive to capitalist production, and an unemployed army is an inevitable necessity to the production of profit, it is clear that the solution of the unemployed problem must be sought in a new productive objective—production must be independent of profit.

As the consumer demands the production of commodities because they are use-values, and demands them as long as they have use-value, it is clear that utility would be a more constant incentive to produce than profit, since things have always utility while people need them, and it is just when people need them most, because they are starving, but have no money to pay for them because they are unemployed, that there is no profit in their production.

As production for profit implies the power to wrest from the workers part of their product by keeping some of them (the unemployed) from production, it presupposes also private ownership by the few of the machinery of production.

And as production for use means production while any one has need, it implies free access to the means of production—in other words, common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, by and in the interest of the whole community.

The establishment of this changed property condition is the revolutionary proposition, the object of all Socialists. It is revolutionary because it changes the whole structure of society from top to bottom. In particular it abolishes the unemployed by giving free access to the means of production.

Socialism is the only cure for unemployment, therefore study Socialism.

A. E. JACOB.

THE FORUM

SOME OPEN DISCUSSIONS.

Statements of difficulties, criticisms of our position, contributions upon any question of working-class interest, are invited. Members and non-members of the Party are alike welcome. Correspondents must, however, be as brief as possible, as bright as possible, and as direct as possible to the point.

FROM CAPITALISM TO HANDICRAFT.

Dear Sir,

The first of the Kautsky pamphlets published by your Party under the title of "From Handicraft to Capitalism," treats in a masterly manner with the earlier stages of capitalist development, with the transformation of the sturdy handicraftsman, owning and controlling his own implements of industry, and producing for his own use and enjoyment, into the stunted, anemic, flat-chested, narrow-gutted wage-slave, tending machinery which, although produced by labour, belongs to the master class, and turning out commodities for the world's market, being permitted to consume a small fraction of the value of what he produces. Most of us are aware of recent developments in machinery, and can see quite easily the extent to which it is not only rendering it possible for the necessary labour to be performed by women and children instead of by men, but also making it easy to displace human labour, a displacement which is largely responsible for the acuteness of the unemployed question at this moment. Probably the time is not very far distant when such improvements will have been introduced as will make it quite easy for trained monkeys to do very much of the tending, and then—what is to happen to the bulk of the human race may perhaps form the subject of a discussion at a later date.

My object in writing now is to draw attention to a matter upon which I think some of your members as well as others claiming to be Socialists are taking a wrong turning—like the girl

in the play. I know that, as a rule, they are wise enough not to be drawn into giving forth schemes or plans as to how this or that will be managed under Socialism, but content themselves with advocating the principle and pointing out that a people intelligent enough to declare the Socialist Republic will also be intelligent enough to settle in their own way any little questions which may seem difficult problems to some folk to-day. But I have sometimes heard it said that under Socialism we shall utilise the most scientific machinery for producing wealth, thus reducing the necessary human labour to the minimum and giving ample leisure to all. Now it occurs to me that there is here just a danger that under Socialism the people may be even greater victims of machine domination than they are to-day, and that all the joy in labour which William Morris so beautifully describes in your pamphlet "Art, Labour, and Socialism" will be conspicuous by its absence. Obviously, if under Socialism the test of the value of an improvement in machinery is to be its utility as a saver of human labour, many machines not now in use, because they are not savers of *ages*, will be taken advantage of. As no machinery can be run without organisation and strict discipline on the part of those concerned in its manipulation, it would seem that under Socialism there will not only be perpetuated that fetish of punctuality by which the profit mongers very naturally set such store, but that it will be seated upon even a higher throne than now. (The metaphor may be mixed but I think my meaning will be clear.) Now, is this desirable? Are we to be "the touch the button" automatons which Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" depicts, or are we to be free men and free women, securing our livelihood in our own way? Are we to be called to do our turn of machine minding by the shriek of the Government's hooter, or are we to be allowed to have a "lay in" if we want it, pleasing ourselves as to how, when and where, if at all, we shall delve and spin?

I know, of course, some will say that in view of the leisure for all, possible only under Socialism, the slight restrictions upon individual liberty involved in punctually responding to the Government's factory bell will be quite bearable and few will be found to grumble. Well, I think I shall be one of the few. After all, what is leisure and what should be employment? They should both be synonymous terms for enjoyment. I take pleasure in pushing a plane and handling other implements associated with carpentry and cabinet-making. I may take three or four days to make a door which, with the aid of the most up-to-date and scientific machinery which is to be employed under Socialism could be produced, no doubt, in less than an hour. Am I to be compelled to forego the pleasure of producing my door by handicraft so that I may have "leisure" to do something I may be less inclined to?

In my own particular case I know that when in health I require an outlet for my physical and mental powers. If I feel unfit for say, chopping wood (a favourite pastime of mine, but, of course, a waste of time when wood could be much more easily and expeditiously prepared for the domestic hearth by machinery), if I don't feel up to arguing with a Tariff Reformer or a Total Abstinence I know I'm not well, and I am certain I should feel damnably unwell if, under Socialism, I should be compelled to enter the Government factory at a particular time and to assist in producing articles by machinery which, if produced by handicraft would probably be superior in every respect, and which would certainly mean real leisure, that is, enjoyment to the producers.

Under Socialism there will be no parasites. There will, of course, be dependents. But as all the able bodied will be producers and as all useless labour will be avoided, the effort required to satisfy human needs will be so small that very little machinery will be needed. The tendency will be toward the "simple life" in production, in other words, as Society passed from Handicraft to Capitalism, so, in my opinion, it will revert to Handicraft after the transition stage from Capitalism to State Socialism. But I should like to hear the views of some member of the S.P.G.B.

Yours, etc.,

KENDRICK JOHNS.

As the great Artemus has very forcefully pointed out, it is unwise to prophesy unless you know. We do not know the precise form of organisation that will control industry in the Socialist Republic, nor the exact details of the working. We do not know whether the worker then, will be summoned to a factory by a State "hooter" or aroused from his slumbers by a direct electrical current established between the workshop and his bedpost. Not knowing, we do not prophesy. We only hold it highly improbable that the elimination of the conditions governing present day production for profit will leave the worker the slave of the machine. The manipulation of machinery in an atmosphere of comparative industrial liberty may well provide the manipulator with as great a joy as our correspondent can derive from the sight of a door growing slowly to recognisability under his hand—in four days. The machine is often a marvel of ingenuity, a veritable fairy story told in mechanics. Its control may easily be a dear delight. At the same time it is probable that the people of the Commonwealth may prefer a form of production, in special cases, that will allow the character of the worker to express itself more or less adequately in the work of his hand. Generally, however, we do not suppose that the worker then, will be prepared to relinquish the advantages of greater leisure that the machine offers—although he may occupy that leisure in some form of handicraftsmanship. Doubtless the present revolt against machine work is due to the crushing sense of the domination of the machine over the man—an inevitable result of the capitalist mode of production. Given the subservience of the machine to the requirements of the man, and the whole aspect changes.

However this may be the subject is one we may well leave to the society of the future. A broader, saner view of productive processes and their relation to the life of the community will inevitably result from the removal of the restrictions that at present cramp the soul of the worker, and will reflect itself in the character of the product. It is a pleasing subject for speculation, anyhow, although the question of far greater and more immediate importance to us has to do with the education and organisation of the workers for the control of the means of their own livelihood. As to what they will do after then we do not pretend to have any particular knowledge. Nor is it a matter to worry about. They will doubtless make mistakes, but if they do they will have to bear the result of the error. Out of their experience they may be relied upon to, sooner or later, devise a means of satisfying their own desires within the means of their development. Then, at any rate, they will have the opportunity of profiting to the full from the lessons of their mistakes.

And that is all there is to it.—Ed. S.S.

SOME PUBLICATIONS.

"A Book for the deaf. Surdus in Search of His Hearing." By Evans Yellon. (The Celtic Press. 2s. 6d. nett.)

While THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is an instrument designed to open the eyes of the intellectually blind, having no message that will unstop the ears of the physically deaf, it can still afford to offer a welcome to a book that fearlessly and trenchantly exposes the fraudulent methods of the aural quacks and peripatetic purveyors of "patent" potions or absurd appliances, who foist themselves upon the credulity of the deaf, to the deaf's financial undoing—when it goes no further than that. There is not much left of "the gentleman who cured himself after 14 years," or "Professor" Keith Harvey, or the Drouet Institute, or "Dr." Moore, by the time Mr. Yellon is through with them.

The author, himself completely deaf, clearly understands his subject, and the limitations of the remedial measures that may be adopted. He writes with strength and sanity and much humour, and may be commended as a thoroughly reliable guide to any of our readers who seek information upon the matter.

JOTTINGS.

D. J. SHACKLETON, M.P., speaking at Leeds on Oct. 24th, '08, on unemployment, said of the Labour Party, "It should always be remembered that they were the smaller party, and what they could get out of the 'House' would be by persuasion and force of argument." And yet later in the same speech he stated "I take it that Mr. Asquith means help apart from the Poor Law. If he does not we are not going to have it" ("it" being Asquith's remedy for unemployment). Fancy the party of persuasion having or not having as it chooses! "If we can only get Parliament to see the reasonableness of our demand, I, for one, will be quite pleased to see the Government get on doing the good work with regard to temperance reform and other matters that they are doing." Mr. Shackleton doesn't seem to realise that what appears reasonable to profit-mongers in Parliament will not be to the workers' interest. Further, were it in the workers' interest and there was no force behind the demand they can ignore it. Mr. Guy Wilson, at West Hull, quoted Mr. Shackleton as showing that the Liberal Party were favourable to Labour, and now he has given one of the parties whose interests he is to strictly abstain from promoting, another testimonial. He is reported as saying "We are not anxious to do anything to hamper the Government, but they are not doing all we could expect of them." There's where he makes a mistake. If he viewed these matters from a class conscious stand-point he would see that they do all one can expect of them from the workers' point of view, and that is "nothing."

Messrs. Brunner, Mond, & Co., Northwich, have not, according to Mr. F. W. Brock, a director, considered the financial effect of putting their employees on short time (and short wages) in order that work may be found for some of the unemployed in and around Northwich.

The scheme is on similar lines to one mentioned by J. T. McPherson, M.P., in the Eight Hours Bill debate, 18.3.08. The members of the union this gentleman is connected with alleged to be getting so much in wages for a twelve hour day on the North-East Coast and West of Scotland that a proposal had been made to the employers to allow three shifts of eight hours each instead of two shifts of twelve hours each per day. By this method it was hoped to employ 1,200 additional men, and, even though the steel smelters were willing to sacrifice one third of the wages they received the employers declined to entertain the proposal. It would be interesting to know what the wages were at the time the suggestion was made. I should have thought that so many unemployed in an industry would tend to lower wages. In the Northwich arrangement it is calculated that work will be found for 250 additional men, while the same wages bill as at present will be paid. This means speeding up. And as work is to go on day and night, it is obvious that the financial side has not been considered at all. It never is! The dividend is 5 per cent. below the corresponding period last year. Possibly this has something to do with the new move.

If open confession be good for the soul, Councillor J. E. Sutton, a Manchester "labour" leader, must now sleep easy o' nights. Speaking in support of "Labour" Councillor Billam at Bradford, Manchester, during the municipal contests, he stated, "The Labour Party are willing to compromise if the other parties would allow them one representative in every ward. That would give them thirty representatives instead of the eleven which it had taken them fourteen years of hard work to secure."

There are about 124 representatives on the Manchester City Council, therefore, Councillor J. E. Sutton thinks Labour's share is about one-fourth the total. Any attempt to break through such an arrangement by endeavouring to secure more seats on the council would mean the loss of some of the original thirty. The

workers of Bradford, Manchester would do well to read the following:

"An honest man may take a knave's advice, But idiots only may be cozened twice: Once warned is well heeded."

DYDES. "The Cock and the Fox."

At the Hull Conference of the Labour Party Mr. Grayson stated that he believed in palliatives with all his heart; now he tells us that "war has been declared; the decks are cleared. The people know their friends and I am hopeful. I am out for Socialism, and will be content with nothing less." (*Daily Dispatch*, 17.10.08.) At a meeting held at the Huddersfield Town Hall on 31.10.08, Mr. Grayson said, "Robert Blatchford and I have been considering, and we have come to the conclusion that while the squabble goes on the people must be fed. There is nobody else will feed them, and we in the Socialist movement must. We are going to say to the classes who say it cannot be done, 'put down as much as you can and we will feed them.' If they refuse to put it down we shall be able to turn round on them and say, 'You contemptible cads, we applied constitutional and peaceful means—we shall now resort to other means.' You must be ready for the other means." *Manchester Guardian*, 2.11.08.

Socialism, to Mr. Grayson, would appear to mean charity: failing charity being forthcoming he would resort to other means, presumably Anarchy, not Socialism, surely, because that might not be brought about by constitutional methods, via the ballot box, that is given voters educated to a sense of their class mission. Belfort Bax in "Socialism: What it is and what it is not," tells us "Not emphatically, alms giving, whether good or bad, right or wrong, under existing conditions, not only is not Socialism, but has nothing to do with Socialism."

But, of course, Bax is an "esoteric rambler" *vide* Grayson, in his debate with Hicks.

The Liberal politicians are as much at sea as the Labour misleaders. This possibly arises from their actions in Parliament being similar. C. F. G. Masterman (whom J. Hunter Watts supported), speaking at Tottenham on October 29th said that "If the Right to Work Bill had been passed, however, in the crude form in which it was presented to Parliament, it would have been as difficult for them to provide work as at the present time." And yet he "voted some time ago for the Right to Work Bill."

W. Thorne, in backing the Unemployed Bill of the Labour Party whilst knowing it was of no use as a solution of the problem, was in the same position as Masterman in voting for a measure he knew was of no use. JAYBELL.

AT RANDOM.

The *Keel* is an organ devoted to the exposition of "Tyneside Socialism."

As thus: "Social Reform is inoperative. We want to change the basis of society." (Oct. '08.)

As a means to the end which the *Keel* vainly imagines it is working for, it warmly supported the candidature of Hartley at Newcastle.

Hartley, in his election address, declares himself "first, last, and all the time, a Socialist." As evidence in support of this assertion he trots out six "questions," every one singly, or all in their entirety, of which are exploited by Liberal or Radical politicians. These he considers to be of primary importance.

Every one of the six "questions" is concerned with a policy of more or less, chiefly less, effective patching of the vile garment which is doing duty to hide the obscenity of the Body Politic.

Clearly the *Keel* has lost its compass. Social Reform is inoperative. Hartley's "programme" is Reform, Reform, and yet again, Reform. Therefore we support Hartley. Shades of Q. E. D.!

A member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain recently expressed the opinion that a few millstones, the deep blue sea, and labour "leaders"—the ingredients duly and well approximated—were among the first essentials of the Social Revolution.

Recent utterances of the labour "leader" surely justify the opinion. Place for Philip Snowden! Room for Gentle Jesusism and the Brotherhood of Capital and Labour!! Make way for Cant; strew the dead hopes of the deluded worker in the path of oily Sham and baleful Ignorance.

"He did not propose to rob the millowners of their property. No; they would compensate them for their mills as they would compensate the landowners and railway companies. That was sound political doctrine."

Instead of which a Manchester comrade writes "Seeing that the workers only receive one-third of their product (and have to spend this third in buying the necessities of life) how can they buy out the capitalist class? If the workers acquired political power thereby robbing that power of the sting it has hitherto possessed, the power, namely, of the oppression of a class, they would not need to 'compensate.'"

While that power is not possessed the capitalist class would refuse to be "bought out," even if the miracle of producing the purchase money were to be performed, since, if every avenue of investment were closed to them the said purchase money would be useless.

Compensate? Listen!

"I once heard a manufacturer ask an over-looker 'Is so-and-so not back yet?' 'No.' 'How long since she was confined?' 'A week.' 'She might easily have been back long ago. That one over there only stays three days.'"

Again: "I have seen a girl of eleven years who was not only a fully developed woman, but pregnant, and it is by no means rare in Manchester for women (!) to be confined at fifteen years of age." (Dr. Robertson, 1844.)

Once more—this is YOUR SHOW, brothers of the working class, ye whose sisters were at the mercy of every millowner, ye who NOW provide the prostitute for the class to be "compensated." "In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action. They slept by turns and in relays, in filthy beds that were never cool. Many died and were buried secretly at night in some desolate spot, and many committed suicide." (*Industrial History of England*, p. 180.)

Compensate? In the name of the oppressed of all time, in the name of the maimed and the scragged, the outraged woman and the joyless child, by the suffering and agony and the bloody sweat of OUR CLASS, who prates of compensation?

THEY SLEPT BY TURNS IN BEDS THAT WERE NEVER COOL.

Compensate! SNOGGY.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
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"Gaelic American" (New York).
"Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago).
"Club & Institute Journal" (London).
"The Keel" (Tyneside).
"Labor" (St. Louis).

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

SUNDAYS.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	E. Fairbrother	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson
Earlsfield, Magdalen Road 11.30	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	J. Fitzgerald	P. Dumenil
Clapham Common 3.30	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	A. Barker
Finbury Park 3.30	J. Fitzgerald	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Ilford, Roden Street 7.30	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	J. Kennett
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30	T. W. Allen	G. H. Smith	A. Anderson	H. Newman
Peckham Rye 6.30	H. Martin	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe	H. Newman
Tooting Broadway 7.30	P. Dumenil	E. Fairbrother	T. A. Jackson	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 7.30	J. H. Halls	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	P. Dumenil
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	H. Newman	T. W. Allen
	J. Crump	A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
	H. Newman	E. Fairbrother	J. Crump	F. E. Dawkins

MONDAYS.—Upton Park, 8.30.

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Paddington, Kilburn Lane, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

What We are After (*continued*).

and leisure, giving opportunities for such physical and mental development as but few of the working class even hope for to-day.

Many poor, half-fed workers, carefully gulled by the political and journalistic organs of the beneficiaries of the present system, will bring forward this and that (as they think) awkward question and objection; but if they will reason out logically the consequences that flow from the S.P.G.B. Object applied to each case they have in mind, and compare the results as they affect themselves and those they love, with the results of the present capitalist system, they will realise, indeed, that the workers have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to win.

By reasoning out for themselves and finding out the correct answer to the often trilling difficulties and objections brought against Socialism, instead of asking someone to think them out for them, our fellow working men and women will the sooner enjoy the novel satisfaction of being less often tricked and misled. Then, indeed, we shall be making headway toward our goal, realising that in Socialism, understood and fought for by a wide-awake and ever vigilant democracy, lies our only hope.

J. H. H.

"Men become perplexed at themselves and at others, because they treat the means as the end, and so, from sheer doing, do nothing or, perhaps, just the opposite of what they want to do."
GEORGE.

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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

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